

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROUMANIA

WITH REFERENCE

TO THE TREATY CONCLUDED IN PARIS ON THE 9-TH OF
DECEMBER 1919 BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED
POWERS AND ROUMANIA, DEALING WITH THE PROTECTION
OF MINORITIES

I.

(1919—1922.)

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PUBLISHED BY THE HUNGARIAN-SICULIAN SOCIETY FOUNDED
IN SUPPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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PREFACE.

When defining the present frontiers of New Roumania, the Allied and Associated Powers (United States of America, England, France, Italy and Japan) concluded a special Treaty with Roumania in Paris on the 9-th of December 1919 for the protection of the rights of the Minorities (1,867,454 Hungarians, 1,015,801 Russians and Ukranians, 833,151 Germans, 582,700 Jews, 554,000 Turks and Tartars, 321,600 Bulgarians and 61,369 Serbians) inherent in race, language and religion, a reproduction of which will be found in this book.

Art. 12. of this Treaty provides that in so far as the stipulations of the Treaty affect persons belonging to Minorities, such as are determined by race, religion or language: Roumania agrees that such provisions should be considered as obligations of international interest and be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

What value was represented by this International Treaty and the guarantee of the League of Nations during the first 9 months of its existence, was experienced, nay, painfully suffered by the whole Hungarian race but especially by some hundreds of thousands of Transylvanian Hungarians, who were expelled from their native Country by the new Roumanian Rule, by such means as flogging, torture, extortion and insult. The Hungarians who remained under Roumanian Rule numbering nearly two millions, who live in constant fear for their life, their property and their human dignity, and are compelled to suffer the treading down of the most elementary and natural human rights, feel to this day in the most painful manner the inhuman manifestations of hatred, greed, bloodthirst and desire to rule, in wick they must acquiesce in the interest of their mere existence. At the present time therefore the Hungarian Nation is deprived of the right of raising its voice before the Powers who concluded and signed the Treaty for the Protection of considerable numbers of Hungarians, against the application of the provisions of the Treaty, in contradiction with its spirit.

The present collection only represents a small fraction of the sufferings of nearly two millions of Hungarians who are become a minor nation in Roumania through the Trianon Treaty. We are sending a French translation of the same to the Council of the League of Nations in order that this High Authority making use of the rights

conferred on it by the Treaty and satisfying itself as to the truthfulness of the particulars given, may in the name of Human Love take the necessary measures to obtain that Roumania is compelled by the Powers who signed the Treaty to carry out honourably the stipulations of the Treaty signed and accepted.

The particulars given here are partly based on direct experience of the Members of the American Unitarian Church Committee which visited Roumania and of the Reformed Association of the Presbyterian World, which latter openly stated and communicated to both the Roumanian Government and the Council of the League of Nations the following:

„When looking at the provisions and promises contained and given in the Treaty, in the light of our studies and experiences: we hardly find a single one that has so far been complied with. It is our desire to urgently convince Roumania and the Powers of the absolute necessity of foreign mediation. Should this not come from Bucarest, it will have to come from Geneva.“

The Hungarian nation has been vanquished in the European war. It has been and is still made to daily bear the consequences of the defeat . . . This we readily comprehend, but we cannot see, why it is necessary that the victorious Powers should withhold from our kinsmen placed under foreign Rule their most primitive natural rights in the face of the Peace Treaty signed and accepted by them, intimidating these Minorities by terroristic means in the use of the rights granted.

Roumanian rule has so far made us feel that our mere life and existence is only due to its particular kindness, and suffered only temporarily.

In spite of this, after so many painful trials we still cherish the hope that the provisions of the International Treaty concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part and Roumania on the other, „of their own will and as full security for freedom and justice“ will yet be carried into effect under the pressure of the power of justice.

Although, — individually speaking, — we are still bleeding from the strokes of the merciless whip, and have been expelled by force from the land of our ancestors, deprived of the foundations of our physical existence with an utter disregard of the principle of the sanctity of private property:

Yet we have faith in the sanctity of the given word, in the fulfilment of solemnly made promises, for Justice and Humane feelings are bound to triumph.

Budapest, 30-th June 1922.

*The Hungarian-Sicilian Society founded
in support of the League of Nations.*

The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania.

According to Art. 2. of Chapter I. of the Treaty concluded in Paris on the 9-th of December 1919 between the Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania:

Roumania guarantees full protection of life and freedom and the free practice of religion for everybody.

I.

Grievances of the Churches.

Extract from the censured number of 1. Religious persecution the Aradi Közlöny dated the 18-th December 1921.

Public meetings of the members of the Baptist Church were prohibited. Quite recently the Baptist Chapel at Aradkövi has been closed.

At Mikóujfalu, Sepsibükszád and Körösbánya all people who or whose ancestors could be accused of following the Greek-Oriental faith, were forced to abjure the Roman-Catholic religion and their children were not allowed to be educated as Roman-Catholics. (10. February 1921.)

The "Patria," in its number No. 103 dated the 14-th of May 1922 reports as follows: In order to prove how rights of freedom are respected in our Country, we reproduce the following letter from which it will be seen that the principles of religion are impressed on the population by means of flogging.

Birkis, 5-th May 1922.

"To Mr. Vajda Solicitor.

Dear Sir,

Kindly hear the following complaint. My name is Alexander Isbasa, I am a native of Birkis, a follower of the Baptist faith since the 7-th of September 1919. In the month of May I left the Greek-Catholic

Church and in the presence of two witnesses I expressed my thanks to the priest of my former religion. After military service I married a girl of Jász (District of Karánsebes). We contracted civil marriage on the 23-rd of November before the notary of Obrázsa. The religious ceremony took place on the 24-th of November at Jász.

On the 8-th of February of this year all of us who were not legally married, were summoned to the school. The priest Moise Bordas was present together with Plutonier (stafsergeant) Guist and sergeant Bolog. The priest declared that he did not accept abjuration. Hereafter Plutonier Guist turned against me, asking me the reason why I followed the rites of our Baptist Church? I replied that I did so by ministerial authority as I had a ministerial permission.

The Plutonier attacked me in harsh words and when I replied that the law must be respected he handed me over to the sergeant ordering him to take me to the Gendarmerie. Here I waited till the Plutonier returned from the School. He struck me in the face several times, took his rifle and gave me two hard blows so that two of my ribs broke. Later he ordered Sergeant Turcu to make me lie down with my face downwards and then they belaboured me with their fists from head to foot. The Plutonier then got hold of a stick and beat the soles of my feet with it.

I received a medical certificate and sent it to Lugos to Captain Valcanu. The latter did not do anything in the matter. I secured another medical certificate and sent it to the Ministry. The certificate and the report were sent to the Pretura (Districtual Chiefs office) from which I knew that they would be referred to the Captaincy of the Gendarmerie. I beseech you to comfort me in my distress if possible". Signed: Alexander Isbasa, Birkis 150, County Krassó-Szörény. PS. Our Churches et Birkis, Kápolnás and Valemare are still closed by the Authorities.

The „Luptatorul“ in its number dated the 23-rd of December 1921 reproduces the protocol drawn up at Radnot (Jernut) by Gheorghe Cesman, a preacher, Simion Coman, Vasilie Precup, S. Masca etc. Seven Baptists complain of having been arrested by the Gendarmerie at Oláhkokcsárd (County Kisküküllő) during the night of the 1-st of October 1921, and taken to Dicsőszentmárton. Here at the order of Captain Petrescu of the Gendarmerie they were shut up in a horse stable where three Gendarmes compelled them to abjure their religion. As they refused to do this, their trousers and pants were taken off, a piece of wet cloth was put on their naked bodies and they were beaten with a rope till their tormentors got tired. As they yelled

with pain, their mouths were gagged with stable manure and the beating continued. Their bodies were already covered with deep wounds, when they were taken before Captain Petrescu where a Roumanian Priest and a civilian were present. Here the Roumanian orthodox priest tried to induce them to abjure their religion. When they remained firm and refused to do so, the Captain allowed them to go home telling them not to venture to say prayers after the Baptist rites and to report every day at the Gendarmerie.

In connection with the persecution of Baptists I. H. Rusbrooke and I. R. Socaciu made an investigation in Transylvania and reported on the result of their investigation, supported by the corresponding protocols, in the American „Religious Herald“ on the 26-th of January 1922.

In the „Adeverul“ (9-th December 1921) I. Todorescu one of the most distinguished Roumanian journalists writes as follows: Europe is still the theatre of bitter struggle and political persecution but these troubles are hardly taken notice of. Europe does not know anything about religious persecution and is surprised and revolted at seeing such in our Country. Mr. Goga a Cabinet Minister issued an edict ordering the authorities to refrain from persecuting the innocent Baptists and Adventists and in spite of all this quite a series of acts of religious persecution are reported by the censured Bukowina papers.

The Luptatorul of Bucarest (1-st January 1921) reproduces two protocols with the remark that on the grounds of two similar protocols formerly communicated, the Minister of Religion issued an edict, ordering that the freedom of religions shall be respected in the whole country. The clergy hereto replied: The Minister is only a Minister in Bucarest, but over here it is we who are the Ministers.

On the 17-th of September 1917 Adventist men and women met at Arbora for divine service. The congregation numbered about 15. During the service the Gendarmes led by Gheorghe Balnos the Primar, broke into the Hall, took away by force all the bibles and searched the clothes of those present. The preacher A. Sireteanu was struck in the face and so were the members of the congregation. Then flogging followed so, that their faces and bodies were covered with wounds and swellings. After this they were taken to the Gendarmerie quarters and as it happened to be a Saturday (the Sunday of the Adventists) the members of the Gendarmerie compelled them to char the stables.

Twenty Adventists attended divine service at Fundul Moldovei on the 29-th of August 1921. The Gendarmerie broke into the Hall

and escorted the whole congregation to their quarters. Here, under the command of Cavil Dan, the Chief of the Gendarmerie, the Gendarmes flogged and beat with rifles, sticks and bulls pizzles not only the men but also the women and the children. Then they locked them into a small room, kept them there till the afternoon of the following day and then escorted them to Campulung. On the third day the Prefect communicated to them the sentence: You are sentenced by the Under Prefect to 10 days arrest, but the next time I will lock you up for a whole month. These protocols were signed by Grigore Lehaciu, Grigore Timpen and Mihai Sireteanu and submitted to the Law Courts.

2. Censure of Church sermons

The Rev. W. H. Drumond, Delegate of the British and foreign Unitarian Society reports on his stay at Kolozsvár from the 20—28-th of October 1919: „On the 27-th of October an edict was issued according to which all Divine Sermons must be submitted to the Censor 10 days before they are delivered. No alteration whatever must be made in the wording after censure. In many instances our clergymen were insulted, maltreated, imprisoned and flogged“.

3. Expulsion of the Bishop of preachers and members of the congregation

With its resolution No. 559/920 the Kolozsvár Evacuation Committee expelled the Unitarian Bishop from the seat held by the Bishopric for over 300 years. Only an appeal and long proceedings could obtain the withdrawal of the expulsion order. (2. II. 1921.)

With a decision No. 592, 593 and 594/920 the Housing Office of Kolozsvár expelled the Lutheran Pastor and his two Auxiliaries as undesirables. After many pressing instances they obtained a provisional postponement of the sentence. (2. II. 1821.)

The Committee of the Reformed Union of the Presbyterian World which visited Transylvania in the month of August till October 1920 (Members of the Committee: A. William Curtis, University Professor, I. R. Fleming, General Secretary and I. M. Webster, pastor of the Scotch Reformed Church) made a report on their investigations (Published in the „Quarterly Register“ February 1921):

„At Nagyvárad the distinguished members of the Reformed Church and their families freely made use of the regular „repatriation trains“. The work of the Church was placed under and restricted by the military or police authorities. Despair and anxious suspense are reigning in every house.“

Extract from the report of the Union of the Reformed Presbyterian World: **4. Terrorization of Churches.**

Bishop Charles Nagy of Kolozsvár turned his official secretarial premises into night quarters for us as the Authorities had requisitioned part of his flat. This act of hospitality was used by the Roumanian authorities as a pretext to demand the immediate use of six furnished rooms for the family of a Roumanian officer.

Neither the official responsibility of the Bishop, nor the illness of his wife sufficed to make them desist from requisition,

The sorrowful position of the Hungarian Reformed Church has deeply impressed us.

At Bucarest we were unable to visit Hungarian Reformed Churches as they were all suspended.

We found that the occupation and administration of the Hungarian territories allotted to Roumania, was characterised by a series of acts of brutal violence. The desire for racial vengeance tolerated and fostered a revoltingly terroristic and insulting policy, acts of violence, of cruelty and forcible deprivation of rights were committed here, for victims of which our Churches and clergymen had been preferably selected, not because they were Protestants but because their origin and education was Hungarian.

Clergymen and officials heard on the subject were flogged in masses, imprisoned or threatened with violence or death. Some are kept in prison for months without any sentence or even lawful charge. Applications for mediation are mostly left unnoticed or rejected or punished as an injury to the good reputation of Roumania. Attachment to a race or religion is regarded as a political offence.

Meetings of Ecclesiastical Courts and Church Committees were and are still prohibited save in some cases. Based on our own experience we state that the local authorities extorted 92 Lei or Francs at our religions meeting in the Church in the evening of the 23-rd. (Report of the Union of the Reformed Presbyterian World.) **5. Special permission to hold Church meetings.**

Religious evening parties of the Reformed Church, Choir practice, Presbyterian meetings etc. require permission from the authorities. At most places such meetings are not allowed even after a most troublesome campaign of applications. The Board of Direction of the Diocese could only hold one meeting in 18 months. A meeting for which permission had been given for the 20-th of February 1919 could not take place on account of the absence of the military delegate. (10. II. 1921.)

6. Terrorization by civil and military authorities on Church holidays

Since, according to Ecclesiastical laws, sanctioned by the King the days of divine service and holidays were fixed by the Highest Authorities of the Church, the Clergy did not comply with the orders of the civil and military authorities bearing on divine service. For this reason a number of preachers were arrested, dragged to the quarters of the Gendarmerie, cruelly beaten and brutally maltreated for several days. This happened among others with Dezső Imre, preacher of Abrudbánya, Péter Barát, of Mezőzáh. George Dávid, preacher of Alsó Bölkény was stripped of his clothes and flogged. The Gendarmes held the points of their bayonets against his body so as to hurt him as he quivered under the blows. These insults continue to this day, only cases of flogging are less frequent. (10. II. 1921.)

At Kőrösbánya the Primpretor ordered the Reformed preacher to hold divine service on the 20-th of May 1920. When the preacher pointed out that according to the Law only the Supreme Authority of the Church could order divine services, he was summoned to the Primpretor, pressed and threatened but as this proved to be futile he is to this day the object of continual vexation by the civil authorities.

On the 4-th of August 1920 the Reformed preacher Elemér Soltész of Nagybánya received an order of the Garrison according to which „Mass must be celebrated“ on that day at 10 a. m. As he could not comply with this order he was arrested and put in prison by the District Judge without examination. On the 7-th of August an armed escort took him to Nagyvárad and only released him on the 10-th of August without any reparation. Károly Zsigmond, reformed preacher of Szilágysomlyó was treated in a similar way. He returned from Nagyvárad, but was duly examined. (10. II. 1921.)

7. Maltreatment, flogging, arrest and expulsion of clergymen

The reformed preachers have been laid open to continual insults by the civil authorities and the Gendarmerie during the last two years. Several preachers were arrested merely on suspicion and without any charge having been communicated to them. They were dragged away from their posts and when the Bishop insisted on thorough investigation into their cases they were simply dismissed without any satisfaction, broken in body and spirit. By way of example we mention the following preachers: Lajos Kacsó of Mezőmadaras, Géza Szőnyi of Küküllővár, István Bene of Aldoboly, Ferencz Mircse of Telek, Lajos Pap of Magyarlápós, all of whom were

victims of such treatment. Lately Lajos Egerházy, preacher of Ujtorda has been dragged from one military authority to the other. In his interest the Bishop twice approached the Bureau of the Cabinet, further the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education and finally the preacher in question was taken to the frontier by an armed escort by order of General Petala as an undesirable person, and chased over into Hungary although he and all his ancestors were natives of Transylvania. (10. II. 1921.)

John Szporni, a clergyman and Professor at the Roman Catholic Grammar School Gyulafehérvár was addressed by first Lieutenant Bacila at the Tövis railway station, and asked for his name. When he gave it, the Lieutenant said. „You are a Bolshevist as all Hungarian clergymen are and the Bishop in the first place, but we shall teach them a lesson!“ After this he left him. Then the corporal of the guard came forward and started beating Szporni. When the corporal was exhausted he was relieved by the other men who dealt blows into his face with their hands and fists and knocked up his jaw. Then they stripped him of his clothes and beat his lower body and his limbs with a stick and with the barrel of a rifle. After this they again dressed him and the beating continued from 8 to 10^{1/2} p. m. Then he was put on a train under the escort of a soldier who knocked him over the head at every bump of the carriage. Two Roumanian Doctors examined the man next day and drew up a medical certificate which was submitted to the Roumanian Governing Council at Nagyszeben, with the protests of the Roman Catholic Bishopric.

For some long time no reply came from the Governing Council but after a renewed letter of protest the whole matter was referred to the Military Authorities at Nagyszeben, who at first denied the charge and later stated that John Szporni the venerable ecclesiastical and old professor of Mathematics was guilty of Bolshevistic propaganda. When the Episcopal Authority courteously asked for proofs, General Murdarescu refused to supply such, saying they were military secrets. (10. II. 1921.)

In the spring of 1919 the Roumanian General Guiu made statements far and wide about Count Gustav Károly Majláth, Privy Councillor, and Bishop of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Diocese, aged 56, to the effect that the latter was a Bolshevist. When this conservative member of the High Clergy asked for an explanation through P. Anacletus O. M., the Roumanian General replied: „There is no doubt as to Bishop Majláth being a Bolshevist, for does not he go about in worn out clothes and address everybody in his letter as: „Dear Son“.

On the 25-th of September 1919 Mr. Baerlein, an English Journalist who visited Gyulafehérvár dressed in the uniform of a British Officer called on Bishop Majláth with a request for ethnographical and ecclesiastical data. The Bishop gave him the explanation wanted and, — as was his habit with foreigners, — invited him to stay for luncheon. After lunch the Bishop expressed his regrets for being shut off from the civilized world with his Diocese. In the course of conversation the British agent provocateur mentioned the name of Cardinal Mercier to which the Bishop remarked that the Archbishop Cardinal of Malines had merited the acknowledgement of the whole world through his loyal and patriotic behaviour. The evening of the following day the Bishop and, numerous members of the Central Clergy, including some of those that had never seen Mr. Baerlein, were ordered by the Roumanians to remain confined to their quarters. Armed soldiers with bayonets fixed watched over them for a week and in addition they were forbidden to celebrate Mass on Sunday during their detention. (10. II. 1921.)

Gáspár Botár Roman Catholic teacher of religion was sentenced to twelve months of prison for some objection that was raised against part of his sermon. He was released in June 1920.

P. Leonard Trefau, Provincial Chief of the Order of St. Francis was kept under arrest for several months in 1919 and 1920 on account of one of his sermons.

János Nagy, Curate of Nagyág was kept in prison at Déva for several months and then imprisoned at Nagyszeben.

József Rakk, Curate of Zalatna was several times summoned before the military court for not having hoisted the Roumanian flag on the Roman Catholic Church. (10-th May 1920.)

Churches and Schools are systematically and under penalty made to purchase Roumanian flags of prescribed size from certain firms and ordered to hoist the same at short notice (given mostly the same day) on National Holidays, on Hungarian churches and School buildings. (10. II. 1921.)

8. Interference with provision for pensioned clergymen, widows and orphans

The Budapest seat of the Universal Convent manages the affairs connected with assistance of the poor Reformed Churches of Transylvania as well as the pensions of the preachers and the widows and orphans funds. For over two years since the 29-th of December 1918 the Transylvanian Diocese was forbidden all connection with this highest authority, by an order of the

Roumanian Government, during which time pensioned preachers, widows and orphans could not obtain their pensions and the Roumanian Government made no provision for the necessary funds or advances. (10. II. 1921.)

Extract from the report of the Rev. Sydney B. Snow made under date of the 2-nd Oct. 1920, on the investigation tour of the American Unitaried Committee.

9. Agrarian reform directed against Hungarian churches...

„The most effective means for the weakening of Churches is the so-called „Agrarian Reform“. In a general way, we do not discuss the necessity of this Law, but we have seen enough of its practical application to come to the conclusion that it is used for lessening the strength and influence of the Hungarian Churches.

The bulk of ecclesiastical property, as is natural in agrarian countries, is invested in landed property. The single properties are not large, their area varies in every Diocese. In most villages the property is sufficient for the allotment of 10—30 yokes of land (5.7—16.2 Hectares) to preachers, of somewhat less for schoolmasters, leaving a little over for the upkeep of buildings and to cover the cost of repairs. In many cases there is also some forest land, yielding wood enough for the preacher and schoolmaster.

We visited the Bányabükk a foundational estate of the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár, against which a sentence of expropriation was passed and the experiences we have made there, show what „land reform“ really means. The peasants who held land at a rent of 60 Crowns per annum and possessed as much as they wished to till, sublet the land given to them on compulsory lease, to speculators at a rent of 100 Crowns per yoke and the latter again let it to the parties who originally used to rent land direct from the church. It is only since the war that the Churches till their own property.

The Bányabükk and Pusztaszentmárton estates mentioned, cover an area of 1419 yokes (812 Hectares). The estate is to supply all the produce required by the Unitarian College. Other estates of the Unitarian Church are:

2. 3189 yokes of land (1834.8 Hectares) a foundational estate at Ladomos Alamor, bequeathed by Paul Augusztinovich in 1837, the yield of which goes towards the upkeep of Church Institutions and Schools.

3. The foundational property of Mozsa Berde of 1888 covering 1389 yokes (788.6 Hectares) the yield of which is to cover the

distribution of 3 loaves of bread per diem for every student of the Kolozsvár, Torda and Székelykeresztur Schools for a period of 200 days.

4. Foundational estate of Dénes Kovács at Bágyon, covering 301 yokes (172.5 Hectares) dating from 1880. Income to be used for Ecclesiastical educational purposes.

5. Foundational property of John Derzsi (date 1890) at Pusztaszentmiklós, covering 584 yokes (235 Hectares) for assistance to Unitarian students. (10., II. 1921.)

Paragraph 6, Art. 4 of Chapter I. of the Transylvanian Agrarian Law provides that parts of properties of Church communities of over 32 yokes (18.4 Hectares), or of over 8 yokes (4.5 Hectares) of Choir leaders and, or over 16 yokes (9.2 Hectares) for the upkeep of Schools, and of over 10 yokes (5.7 Hectares) for the upkeep of the Church must be expropriated. Properties of Churches numbering a congregation of less than 300 or of Branch Churches with less than 100 followers, are liable to complete expropriation. The purport of the Law is quite clear here. Considering that, owing to the freedom granted to religions in Transylvania 400 years ago, there exist towns with a population of 500 to 1000 inhabitants forming 3, 4 or even 5 Congregations, the Churches of which are kept up out of the produce of land bequeathed by members of the Congregations, if the Roumanian Law be carried into effect here, many Hungarian Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches of a hundred years standing would automatically cease to exist as no church can be kept up out of a permanent annuity of 5% off the yearly returns of 1913 which now hardly represent one 33-rd part of the original value.

The properties at Kolozsmonostor, Váralmás, Radnót and Alsóbajom of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status viz; 10.000 yokes (5754 Hectares) of agricultural area were let on compulsory lease according to an edict of the Transylvanian Governing Council, dated the 12-th of September 1919. By this means the upkeep of 7 Grammar High Schools, 7 Educational Institutes for Boys and an Orphanage provided for, out of the produce of these properties, was rendered difficult and would have been made impossible, had the expropriation been carried out. This land reform aims at the complete annihilation of Roman Catholic education. The small properties of the Bishopric and Chapter were let on compulsory lease and are intended to be expropriated whereby elementary teaching and contribution towards the needs of the other Ecclesiastical Institutions is made impossible. The property of the Clerical College is also threatened with seizure. It is characteristic that out of the Roman Catholic Church property,

serving educational purposes and the upkeep of the Churches, nothing is allotted to Roman Catholics but only to Greek Oriental and Greek Catholic Roumanians. (10. II. 1921.)

Ecclesiastical property, forest areas, and Schools built by the Church and given over to the Government for upkeep on certain conditions have been seized without any compensation, which fact could not have been excused even in the case of military occupation. (Report of the Reformed Union of the Presbyterian World.)

The Reformed Church communities and preachers are painfully affected by this land reform since part of their property (canonica portio) has been taken away and in many places not even the 32 yokes (18 Hectares) guaranteed by this injurious act of law were left. The churches are thus deprived of part of their income and cannot accomplish their religious and educational task. (10. II. 1921.)

The following properties were also let on compulsory lease: 300 yokes (170 Hectares) of pastures at Fejérd; 150 yokes (86 Hectares) of ploughland at Mezőbánd; 300 yokes at Mezőmadaras; 140 yokes at Ujtorda; 25 yokes at Nagyrápolc; 50 yokes of foundational pasture at Buzásbesenyő, Székelyföldvár etc. from the Reformed Church and preachers. (10. II. 1921.)

According to Chapter I. of the Treaty on the Protection of Minorities dated the 9-th December 1919.

Art. 9.: provides that Minorities of race, religion or language shall enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees as the Roumanians born. They have the right of setting up at their own expense charitable, religious and social Institutions, Schools and educational Institutions, to manage and control the same and to fully use and practice their own language and religion.

II.

Grievances of Congregational Schools.

When the Roumanians took over the Government in 1918, the Hungarian
 1. **Prohibition to set up Schools**
 Government Schools were closed and Valerius Braniste the then Chief of the Educational Department signified to the Reformed Bishop that children liable to schooling must not be left without training. This was the way in which-as he stated, — he meant to satisfy the cultural requirements of the minorities. (10. II. 1921.)

Extract from the report of the Rev. W. H. Drumond, delegate of the British and Foreign Society (23 Cannon Place, Hampstead London N. W., 3-rd of November 1919):

„Strict measures were taken against persons intending to establish new congregational Schools for Hungarian students. Thus v. gr. Dr. Elek Kis, a Unitarian Preacher of Kissolymos who, as recently as in 1914 pursued his studies at the Manchester College, Oxford, was imprisoned.

The Roumanian Educational Secretary of State received an application from the Reformed Church at Arad for permission to set up a „Realschule“ in consideration of the fact that there were only Roumanian Schools existing at Arad, a city with a population of 63.000 out of which the Hungarians numbered 46.000. The request of the Church was rejected on the ground that there being already a Roumanian Realschule at Arad, no further School of this degree was necessary. (Extract from the censured number of „Brassói Lapok“, 14-th September 1920.)

The Hungarian Lutheran Church at Arad applied for permission to establish a „Real“ High School without any Government subsidy. The conditions stipulated by the Government were duly complied with. No permission was given. (2. II. 1921.)

In several former Hungarian Government School buildings there is quite a number of empty schoolrooms, but the Roumanian Authorities refuse to give permission for a Reformed School being set up in these, even if the School be the registered property of the Church. They prefer to see these rooms empty and not looked after. Such cases happened at Kajántó, Dámos, Sepsiszentgyörgy (at the latter place 9 School rooms were vacant in 1920) etc. (10. II. 1921.)

The Lutheran Schools at Berda, Temesvukovár, Vársomlyó and Lugos are only tolerated if the teachers staff are guaranteed the salaries stipulated by the Government. (2. II. 1921.)

2. Seizure of Schools.. .. During the period of 1870—1900 over 200 Schools together with the buildings and the equipment were given over to the Hungarian Government by the Reformed Church with the stipulation in the corresponding contract that the real estate and moveable property of the Church is only to remain under the management of the Government as long as purely Hungarian Schools will be maintained in them. Should this not be the case, the contract to lose its validity and the property to revert to the Church. After the taking over of the Roumanian Rule the Churches reestablished

their Schools in these buildings. The Roumanian Government seized these buildings, took possession of them and set up Roumanian Schools in many of them so that the Church Schools remained without shelter. All applications and letters of protest on the subject were left without reply by the Roumanian Government. (10. II. 1921.)

At several places the lodgings of the Reformed Choir leaders were taken possession of, thus at Oltzem, Székelyszáldobos, Beresztelke etc. (10. II. 1921.)

In the year of 1916 the Transylvanian Reformed Diocese purchased a building and site for the purposes of a Training High School for Deaconesses. The Institute could not be opened on account of the war and the building was provisionally placed at the disposal of the Government for the Teachers Training School, the premises of which had been seized for military purposes. When the Teachers Training School moved into its own premises in 1918 the building which formed property of the Diocese was seized by the Roumanian Government without consulting the owners, for a Women's Hospital for Venereal Diseases. The Diocese is therefore unable to open its only Educational Institute for Girls, a Branch of which, the Female Teachers' Training School, had to be provisionally housed at Nagyenyed three years ago. The Church has already made all possible applications to the Roumanian Government Authorities, in order to get back its Girls Educational Institute but only promises have been received so far in connection with this matter. Thus the Minister for Social Welfare, Mr. Moldovan promised that the buildings would be restituted to their destination at the end of June 1920 but this promise also remained without fulfilment. (10. II. 1921.)

The Reformed School of Dextrászéplak, which was built by the Church community and had been at work for some time past and which contained two schoolrooms, was simply requisitioned by the Primpretor for the Roumanian Greek Catholic School. Although this Reformed Church employs two teachers, there is only one school room left. (10. II. 1921.)

At Szászváros the Boarding School building of the Reformed Kun College and its gymnasium were requisitioned on the ground that they were required for the Roumanian Government Grammar School. Every word of protest was futile, no remedy could be found to put things right. (10. II. 1921.)

At Nagybánya a School with four teachers was opened by the Reformed Church and the „Primar“ requested to release for the purpose four rooms in the building which formed the property of the

Church but which had been requisitioned. As an alternative it was requested that four rooms should be assigned to this end in the empty building of the Government School. Neither of these requests was complied with. The School was opened in the Church, but had to be discontinued when the cold season set in. (10. II. 1921.)

The School buildings at Székelyzombor and Kiskapus, owned by the Lutheran Church and let on lease to the Hungarian Government at the time, were simply declared Roumanian State property together with their equipment. (10. II. 1921.)

The Lutheran School at Ujvarsánd was requisitioned together with the plots of land belonging to it. It was equipped as a Government School and a Greek Oriental teacher, only speaking the Roumanian language was appointed in this purely Hungarian town. (2. II. 1921.)

The Boys Educational Institute of the Roman Catholic Grammar High School at Gyulafehérvár was seized 3 years ago for a Military Hospital for Venereal diseases and it has so far been quite impossible to obtain its restitution. (10. II. 1921.)

Mr. Petrovich, a Cabinet Minister stayed at Hétfalu on the 29-th of August 1921 when a delegation of the Hungarian Lutheran Church of Csernátfalu requested him not to seize the School building of the Church, where 280 children were trained. This same delegation later appeared before the Prefect of the County and handed over to him the corresponding application for transmission to the Government. Although they were assured of a benevolent treatment, Headmaster-teacher Nistor assisted by the Gendarmerie took away the building from the Church and 280 children were left without a school. (Censured number of the („Brassói Lapok“ 24-th Sept. 1921.)

The School building of the Hungarian Lutheran Church at Apáczsa was seized in the same manner by order of the General Secretary of Education of Kolozsvár. („Brassói Lapok“ 5-th Sept. 1921.)

3. Seizure of the Roman Catholic Grammar High School, Máramarossziget.

The Roman Catholic Grammar High School applied for a Government subsidy for the erection of the new School building at the time. On these grounds the Roumanian Government seized the whole Roman Catholic Grammar School in 1919 and opened a new Roumanian Lyceum (under the name of „Dragos Voda“) where the language of the tuition was the Roumanian. Although deprived of shelter, the Roman Catholic Grammar High School wanted to continue its work in 1920, but the authorities interfered on account of which the Hungarian Roman Catholic students joined

the 400 years old Reformed Lyceum and continued their studies there till the 17-th of February 1921 when this was also closed and the building finally seized.

The Reformed Lyceum (Grammar High School) of Máramarossziget that had been in existence for 400 years was closed on the 19-th of April 1921 by an edict No. 317 of the Prefect Dr. V. Mester acting under telegraphic orders (No. 1139/1921) received from Gh. Pteoncu the Chief Headmaster at Nagyvárad. In reply to a telegraphic application of the Reformed Church, Secretary of State Mr. Oct. Prie confirmed the closing of the school by telegram under No. 12943/1921. Later, Chief Headmaster Pteancu motivated the closing of the school by the arrest of Peter Juhász the Headmaster of the Lyceum on the 14-th of February in connection with a „plot“. The Military Court of Justice released Headmaster Juhász on the 7-th of October 1921. On the grounds of the release the Reformed Bishop petitioned that the seizure of the Reformed Lyceum should be withdrawn. This was rejected by edict No. 103078/1921 of the Bucarest Ministry, dated the 13-th October on the ground that the sentence of the Military Court had not been received by that Authority. In possession of this Edict the Reformed Church delegated the released Péter Juhász and Curator László Bede to Bucarest in order to expedite the opening of the Lyceum. When the delegates arrived at the Ministry they were verbally informed that the opening of the Reformed Lyceum could not be permitted for the following reasons:

1. Máramarossziget was not entitled to a Reformed Grammar School as the Hungarians and the Reformed formed a Minority there.
2. The Institution had twice before been sentenced to penalties.
3. It could not be allowed that Tchechoslovakian and Ruthenian subjects and Jews should be taught in the Hungarian language.

In response to this decision which was verbally communicated by Secretaries of State Messrs. Popa Lasan and Prie, the Reformed Church sent a petition to the Minister in the month of December 1921 in which it was stated that the Reformed Church, based on the Treaty of Peace, was desirous on maintaining its right to keep the school, practised for 400 years. As regards the two sentences returned against the School, it was observed: Although it is true that our School was closed by the Authorities on two occasions, in the first instance we have been left without any information as to the causes of this measure as also on the reason why the school was again

opened at a later date; in the second instance only an employee of the School, and not the School itself was placed under suspicion and ultimately discharged. In its application the Church further pointed out that whereas the School was under the control of the Roumanian Government, the latter possessed means to enforce the observance of the corresponding Laws.

In spite of this the Roumanian Government did not allow the continuation of the work of the Reformed School that had been in existence for four centuries and took over the School building on lease under a threat of requisition. Part of the building was used for a Roumanian Teachers' Training School and the other part for the newly created Hungarian parallel forms of the local Roumanian Lyceum. The staff of the Reformed Lyceum were also taken over, with the exception of two, although the latter were willing to follow the example of their colleagues to ensure their existence. This Institution, now 400 years old, has gone over into the possession of the Roumanian Government and the rights of the Church pertaining thereto have been confiscated with the obligation however to pay the salaries of the two teachers not taken over by the Government.

5. Closing of congregational Schools

The Roman Catholic Grammar School

at Nagyszeben, a School founded with Episcopal Charter, was simply closed by the Police and so was the Roman Catholic „Civic“ School at Szamosujvár. At Gyulafehérvár the Roman Catholic trade apprentices School was suspended. (10. II. 1921.)

At the Lupény mining settlement the Roman Catholic School with 700 students was closed, since no permission had been given to the local Reformed School either. The Gendarmes appeared at the Roman Catholic School and chased 700 children home, informing them, that they were only allowed to visit the Roumanian Government School. (Censured number of „Ellenzék“ 1. X. 1921.)

6. The fight of destruction of the Roumanian Government against the Roman Catholic Foundational Grammar High School.

At Arad, a city with a population of 63166 of which the overwhelming majority are Hungarians and Roman Catholics, Jacob Bibics, Kings Councillor and Prefect and his wife Margit Tomjan bequeathed their property on the 31-st of December 1774 for the erection of a secondary School in which Roman Catholic teachers shall train Hungarian students. Out of this foundation a new Roman Catholic Lyceum Building was

erected at Arad and the staff of teachers was paid from this fund. In connection with the forcible taking over of the rule by the Roumanians in 1919 this private foundation with all its buildings, its equipment an famous library, which still belong to the Bibics foundation, was simply taken possession of by the Roumanian Government, and a Roumanian Government Lyceum set up in its place and the Roman Catholic Institution with its staff of teachers and 1100 students became shelterless. Later on the present premises were assigned to this Hungarian School of 150 years standing, which refused to die, for which accomodation a lease must be paid to the City Council. The Church Community immediately sent a memorandum to the Roumanian Government to protest against this forcible appropriation, this however has so far been left without a reply although theer years have passed since its date.

Under such circumstances the Roman Catholic Grammar High School founded by Bibics, this old and excellent Institution, which had become a public necessity, was compelled to continue its work in premises assigned to it out of mercy, against the payment of a rent. It continued till 1921 in spite of many vexations. Deadly blows reach it however since Christmas 1921.

On the 23-rd of December 1921 shortly before Christmas, Joan Petrovici, the Chief Headmaster of the Arad School communicated to the Headmaster of the Roman Catholic Grammar High School the decree of Mr. Prie, Secretary of State ordering the closure of the only Grammar School for male students of the City of Arad. The School had 1073 students, of whom 22 were put on trial for „conspiracy“ by the Roumanian Authorities. The Military Court discharged the majority of the boys in the first degree, but some were sentenced. Those who had sentences up to two weeks passed on them did not appeal in order to avoid loss of time; the Military Court in the second degree discharged the boys sentenced to severer punishment. The edict of the Secretary of State states that the students of this school had taken part in a „conspiracy“ and moreover that the little son of Antal Kolti, one of the Professors was among them. The Roumanian Educational Secretary of State was not however satisfied with the discharge of the „conspiring“ boys, but

1. Issued an order of expulsion for life against Professor Koltai seeing that his son was among the boys put under suspicion (such are the causes of „repatriation“),

2. Excluded from all the schools of the Country 22 boys accused of „conspiracy“, in spite of their discharge,

3. Closed the Roman Catholic Grammar High School at Arad the students of which had been innocently accused of „conspiracy“ and discharged by the court.

At the same time the students of the closed school were invited by the Roumanian Authorities to join the Roumanian „Moise Nicoarei“ Lyceum stating that the staff of teachers of the former Roman Catholic Grammar School would be employed in the latter.

After many applications and requests by delegations from the parents interested, — and after the fall of the Secretary of State, Mr. Octavian Prie, — the Minister gave permission for the continuation of the School on the 19-th of February 1921 so that this large body of students was without a School for a period of two months. („Arad és Vidéke“ 25. XII. 1921 and 21. II. 1922.)

The examination of the boys of the VIII-th form had hardly begun when the public right of the School was withdrawn by the Roumanian Educational Secretary on the 12-th of May 1922 with the following motivation :

1. The Grammar High School has no suitable premises; 2. The School has no scientific equipment; 3. The Church has not sufficient means to defray the material and personal expenses; 4. The qualification of the Staff of teachers is inadequate so that the Institution cannot be kept on a satisfactory level. At the same time the students (numbering 1100) were directed to report at the Roumanian Lyceum for private examination for which 550.000 Lei were paid in by the scholars under the heading of examination fee.

It is a fact that the Roman Catholic Grammar High School at Arad has no suitable premises as the building of this Institution of a 150 years standing was taken possession of by the Roumanian Government and the premises at present occupied have been assigned to it by the Roumanian Government (the tendency of the Government is well characterized by the fact that notice was given to the School by the Council of the Hungarian City, to leave the premises in question on the 15-th of July 1922!). It is equally true that the scientific equipment of the school is not very complete, as the famous and rich collections formerly owned by the School were unlawfully taken into possession by the Roumanian Government. No Roumanian Official delegate has however so far inspected the equipment acquired during the last three years. In reply to the objection that the Church did not possess adequate means for the upkeep of the School, the Church Authority points to the fact that it has at its disposal a yearly sum of 600.000 Lei being the total amount of the Church tax and tuition fees

out of which the expenses can be covered, till, — after the return of normal times — the foundation will be restored to its original destination. Regarding the qualification of the teachers, the truth is that the Institution has a staff of 30 graduated Professors, whose diplomas were however not controlled by any Roumanian Authority and the level of the Institution has so far not been investigated into either.

Following higher orders, the Headmaster of the Roman Catholic School invited the Students to secure their certificates and report at the Roumanian Government Lyceum for private examination. No students presented themselves however for this purpose, and the Headmaster was made responsible. Both the Church Council and the Roman Catholic Bishop appealed against this obviously persecutorial measure. („Aradi Közlöny“, 12-th, 13-th and 14-th of May 1922.)

Based on the reasons in connection with the Roman Catholic Grammar High School of Arad the Roumanian Educational Secretary of State of Kolozsvár withdrew the public rights so far enjoyed by the Torda Unitarian, the Dés Reformed and the Déva Roman Catholic Grammar High Schools and degraded them to be private institutions in future. The headmasters of these Schools were at the same time directed to send the Hungarian students to the Roumanian Government Lyceums for private examination. The examination fee for every student was fixed at 500 Lei („Keleti Ujság“ 13-th May 1922.)

7. Withdrawal of public rights of three other congregational Grammar High Schools by the Roumanian Government

Josip Moldovan the Arad School Superintendent informed the Jewish Community that the Jewish Schools at Arad would not be allowed to use Hungarian as the language of tuition, as according to the regulations in force they must adopt either the Yiddish-Hebrew language as the language of the Jewish Minority, or else the Roumanian language and the further use of the Hungarian language would be prohibited. As the Jews of Arad neither know Hebrew nor Yiddish, they are compelled to teach Roumanian in their schools „in accordance with the regulations in force“. (Friss Ujság of Arad“ censured number of the 24-th of January 1922.)

8. Restrictions in the use of languages by Congregations

On the 11-th of September Peter Groza, the Transylvanian Minister visited Nagyvárad (Population of the City as per census of 1910 total 64.169; Hungarians 58.421; Roumanians 3604. According to the Roumanian Statistics of 1921 there are 44.000 Hungarians and 8100 Roumanians) and received the representatives of the Churches.

By permission of the Roumanian censor Mr. I. Oucu the „Nagyváradi Napló“ (13-th September 1921) reported some extracts from the speeches delivered before the Minister.

Extract from the speech of Zoltán S. Imrik, Roman Catholic Archpriest, delivered in the name of all Churches: „A lately issued edict is quite specially injurious and deprives the parents of their most personal right to select themselves the schools for the training of their children. This God-given right, guaranteed by international Treaties is put to naught by this edict. By the order of Prefect Jacob students may only register for tuition at schools maintained by their own church. Thus for example Jewish students are in future not allowed to visit the Roman Catholic Grammar School. On the other hand if a Christian student desire to visit the „Realschule“, the only school of this description being maintained by the Jewish congregation, he is forced by the political authorities to learn Hebrew.“ Speaker requests that Christian students should be exempted from learning Hebrew. Finally he mentions as a special injury to the Catholic Church that their religious Societies, formed purely for the strengthening of religious life, such as the Catholic Men's Society, the Mary Congregations etc. are prohibited, to the infinite embitterment of adherents.

Lipót Kecskeméti, Chief Rabbi speaks as follows on the grievances of the Jews: „We are former Hungarian Jews placed under Roumanian rule. Our mother language is Hungarian and we have so far not met with real comprehension. The Roumanian Government treats us as a Jewish Nation. There are Nationalists among the Jews, but we are not of their number. Our language is the Hungarian and this is why the edict in question weighs on us like a heavy burden for it provides, that Jewish schools must only teach in Hebrew and Jewish boys speaking Hungarian must not visit other Hungarian Church schools. We are willing to learn the language of the State not only because we are compelled to, but also because we wish to render homage to the State: but our mother language is the Hungarian. We stick to it, not for the sake of the Hungarians, but for our own sake: for is not the Hungarian the language used in our Temples and throughout our religion?“

Imre Fábíán, Canon of the Order of Prémontré, requested that the property of the order should be released from expropriation as its income is exclusively assigned by the order to Ecclesiastical and Cultural purposes and without it the upkeep of the school becomes an impossibility.

By its decision No. 188/1921, dated the 15-th of March 1921, the Administrative Committee of County Szatmár, approved by the Roumanian Government, ordered that the language of tuition at 26 Roman Catholic Schools should be German. The request of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Szatmár, purporting that the members of the Congregation (which provided for the upkeep of the Schools) should be consulted on the subject, was rejected.

The Lutheran School at Szemlak was closed by the Controller because the language of the tuition was Hungarian. (2. II. 1921.)

9. Edict dealing with the language of tuition in Congregational Schools

Secretary of State Joan Mateu in his edict of the 4-th of March 1922, referring to the Treaty of Paris dated the 9-th March 1922 for the Protection of Minorities, states that in Jewish Schools the language of tuition is to be at the choice of the congregations: 1. Roumanian only or 2. Hebrew or Yiddish only. From the 1-st of September 1922 Congregational Schools may use Hungarian or German as an auxiliary language. In connection with this edict the following statement was made by Dezső Sebestyén, Headmaster of the Jewish Neological School at Kolozsvár: „The fact, that our mother language is Hungarian, is independent of our will. It is quite natural that we stick to this language since it is impossible to use a language in elementary tuition, other than the mother language.“ Mark Biró, Headmaster of the Jewish Orthodox school is of the following opinion: „The Government cannot possibly prescribe that children should be taught in a language other than their mother tongue, because such a measure would be impracticable.“ („Ujság“ 5-th May 1922.) According to Dr. Salomon Berkes: Te Jews living on this territory have through several generations past acquired the language and culture of the ethnographical Hungarian nation and have therefore inseparably amalgamated with it. As such they came to be placed under Roumanian rule. By this change they and the Hungarians are become the members of a new political nation but their ethnographical position remains unaltered. („Ujság“ 12-th May 1922.)

The Christian Hungarian members of the old Sabbatarian Sect adopted the Jewish religion in 1867 (Bözödújfalú-County Udvarhely) and therefore according to the new edict the mother language of these old and steadfast Hungarians is to become the Hebrew or the Roumanian?!

10. Only students whose mother language is the Hungarian may visit the Hungarian Congregational Schools

Dr. George Pteancu, Chief Headmaster of the Nagyvárad School District declared that he would not tolerate that students of other religions should visit

Congregational Schools. („Ellenzék“ 30-th August 1922.)

The Prefect, in common understanding with the Royal Chief Headmaster of the School District issued an edict to this effect, which appeared in the „Nagyváradi Friss Ujság“ in three paragraphs, under date of the 22-nd of September 1921.

The Controller of County Szatmár issued a circular letter on the 30-th of August 1920 under Nr. 6535/010 which, referring to order Nr. 24.017/919 of the Board of Education provides that the strictest „retortional“ measures shall be taken against Headmasters of Roman Catholic Schools, who dare to take in Greek Catholic students living in the Borough or in the neighborhood. The latter must be sent to a Roumanian Government School.

Some Controllers do not allow children of other religions to join the Reformed School. Thus the schools of Mezőszengyel and Mezőszakáll where the number of such students was less than 30, were closed. At Marosillye the opening of the school was forbidden by the Controller of County Hunyad on the same grounds but at the same time Reformed students were prohibited to join the Roman Catholic School. (10. II. 1921.)

The work of the Reformed Schools is interfered with by all possible means on the part of the Authorities (Primpretors, Primars, Notaries and Gendarmes). At several places like Lupény, Patakfalva, Csomakőrös, Székelyszenterzsébet etc. the town Council forces the Reformed students under a fine to join the Government School. (10. II. 1921.)

The Controller of County Háromszék issued a confidential order to the Headmasters of Government Schools, directing them to caution all persons connected with the Government (Civil servants, pensioners etc.) not to send their children to congregational schools, lest they should be discharged from their posts or have their pensions withdrawn. He also directed them to follow with close attention the work of the Clergy and to report to him, should this work be against the interests of the Government Schools.

The Roumanian Royal School Superintendent issued an edict on the 1-st of September 1921 running thus: „To be regarded as enemies of the State are all Hungarian Civil Servants, who do not send their children to Government Schools. Such persons will have

to justify the course they have taken and their applications will be submitted to the Ministry." (Extract from a censured number of „Brassói Lapok" 8 th Sept. 1921.)

At Mikóújfalu, Sepsibükkszád and Kőrösbánya children of Roman Catholic parents who, themselves, or whose ancestors left the Greek Oriental religion and adopted the Roman Catholic faith, are not allowed to be taught the Roman Catholic religion but must be given Greek Oriental religious tuition. (10. II. 1921.)

11. Restrictions in connection with the use of languages in religious tuition by Hungarian Congregations ..

The Roumanian Chief Headmaster of Temesvár only allows Lutheran preachers selected by him to give religious tuition. The language of tuition is also decided upon by himself. (2. II. 1921.)

The Roumanian Administrative Committee of County Szilágy suspended by its edict No. 20871/21 twenty two teachers of Hungarian Congregational Schools. Out of this number 19 teachers belonged to Reformed Schools and 3 to Roman Catholic Schools. The reason of this measure was that in the year 1920/1921 these teachers taught the History and Geography of a foreign country, instead of that of Roumania. According to the statement of the teachers they lectured on Roumanian History and Geography and only mentioned Hungarian connections in a passing way. The school books objected to were those used at the same time in the Government Schools. (11. V. 1922.)

12. 22 Teachers of Congregational schools suspended.

Extract from Chapter I of the Treaty on the Protection of Minorities, dated the 9-th December 1921.

Art. 11. Autonomy is granted to the Siculians and Saxons of Transylvania in religious and educational questions by Roumania, under Government control.

III.

How did Roumania grant religious and educational autonomy to the Siculians of Transylvania?

An American Unitarian Committee, consisting of the Rev. Sydney B. Snow, Curate, Minister of King's Chapel, Boston; the Rev. Joel H. Metcalf Ph. D. of the Unitarian Church, Winchester, Mass. and Mr.

Ewdard B. Witte, United States Naval Reserve Flying Corps of Buffalo, made a tour of investigation in 105 towns of Transylvania. The following is an extract from the corresponding report dated the 20-th of October 1920. (Published in the „Inquirer“ 30-th October 1920.)

1. Constant terrorization of the Hungarian Population

The atrocities, — was pointed out to us by Dr. Alexander Vajda Voevod, — are to be regarded as unjustifiable acts on the part of the Gendarmerie rendered savage during the war. In the course of our journey throughout the country we came to the conclusion however that the atrocities formed part of a well thought over policy the object of which is the constant terrorization of the Hungarian Population.

2. Ecclesiastical meetings are only allowed on application in the Roumanian language and held in the presence of a censor

Ecclesiastical meetings can only be held on special application and must be attended by the censor. In the Sicilian districts of Transylvania where hardly anyone knows Roumanian, the translation of the application and the expenses of the censor involve a considerable outlay.

We spent several days at Dicsőszentmárton. People could not receive our visit before filing a regular application in the Roumanian language. At Sepsiszentgyörgy such an application of the Unitarian Curator was rejected. In this town the house of the Archpriest of the Unitarian Diocese was searched by detectives while he treated us to supper. (Report of Rev. S. B. Snow.)

3. Censure of sermons

The Reformed Preacher of Kézdivásárhely received an order from the Vice-Prefect of the County and the Military Commander, to celebrate divine service on the 4-th of May 1920. on the understandig that the sermon to be delivered shall first be submitted for censure. (Report of the Reformed Association of the Presbyterian World.)

4. Persecution and imprisonment of Preachers and Ecclesiastical leaders

Sándor Zoltán, Preachers of Homorodszentmárton was arrested under a charge of having in the course of a sermon uttered a sentence directed against the Government. After one week's imprisonment at Kolozsvár he was released without a regular sentence having been passed in his case. He is however still under the control of the police.

József Ürmösi, preacher of Homorodszentpál was arrested without any charge and kept in prison without a sentence for four days.

Mihály Katona, preacher of Sárd was chased from his village several times. Three weeks before our visit (23-rd of May) he was forced to leave the neighbouring village where he acted as preacher to the congregation.

At Abrudbánya the Unitarian and Reformed preachers were simultaneously arrested for not having tolled the bells of their churches when the Roumanians entered Budapest.

Andreas Bartok, preacher of Csegez was arrested for not greeting the Gendarmes.

At Lokod the preacher was arrested under the indefinite charge of being „anti Roumanian“.

Kálmán Székely, preacher of Sepsikőröspatak spent 65 days in prison for having hidden a gun in the loft of a labourer. The choir-leader of the same congregation was dragged away one Sunday morning and made to drive the waggon of a hunting party when he ought to have acted as a substitute for the preacher kept under arrest.

Sándor Kiss preacher of Kissolymos and Lajos Orbán of Ujszékely were arrested for having tried to set up a congregational school by order of the Bishop. While they were kept in prison at Segesvár, Roumanian soldiers took away all their valuables which were never restored to them. We are informed that this is a general custom with the Roumanians. The two preachers arrested at Fogaras had to live at their own expense.

Kálmán Pethő, preacher of Nyomás, was kept under police control when we visited the place. From the month of May till Easter 1920. he was partly at home, partly in prison, but was not allowed to preach. At Marosvásárhely he was kept locked up in the Mortuary for 24 hours and then stripped of all his belongings. After four weeks imprisonment — while the Gendarmes (Malos and Dobosin by name) extorted 1600 Crowns from his wife — he was released but again arrested after a fortnight. The members of his congregation were flogged and made to kneel on maize in order to extort evidence from them against him. As he was not summoned before the Court the case was not continued. (Report of the Re V. S. B. Snow.)

Domokos Incze, Curate of Csikszentgyörgy and Antal Nagy, Curate of Csikszentmárton were escorted to Nagyszeben by soldiers with fixed bayonets without any plausible reason. No charge could be formed against them and they were set at liberty.

László Kacsó, Curate of Jobbágytelek was imprisoned and kept under arrest for several days without any reason. (10. II. 1921.)

At Sepsiszentgyörgy, after our meeting on the 7-th of June, a religious ceremony similar to those that we were in the habit of holding before all the congregations we visited, the schoolmaster and three presbyters of the congregation were arrested under the charge that they had made use of the meeting for instigation against the Government. They were still in prison when we left Transylvania a month later.

We heard of many cases in which sudden arrest was followed by long terms of imprisonment or internment without previous sentence.

Andreas Bartos, Member of the Court of Chancery and Curator in Chief of the Unitarian District of Udvarhely and Domokos Mátéffy a former Director of the Board of Finance of the County were arrested for having refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Roumania before the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. One of the Professors of the Székelykeresztur Unitarian College was suddenly arrested with several of his pupils in the month of December for having raised objections against certain statements at a school-debate. They were all taken to Kolozsvár and kept in prison for some long time.

At the beginning of the occupation many Hungarians were interned but the Roumanian Authorities declared that all the arrested persons had been released. On the 15-th of June we met a clergyman at Fogaras, who had visited 24 interned persons the day before at a neighbouring town. He gave us the list of their names. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

5. Flogging of preachers, teachers and members of congregations

Flogging is administered ad libitum by the Roumanians in order to terrorize the Hungarians of Transylvania.

In many cases we have spoken to the victims themselves. Some had been flogged because they were found in possession of arms, others again, because they had no arms and were suspected of having hidden them.

The Unitarian Choir leader at Csegez was given 25 blows with the butt end of a rifle because no arms were found in his house. At the same place other 8 or 10 men were flogged.

People were flogged without any direct reason only to terrorize the Hungarians. Dénes Barabás, the Chief Councillor of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church, an old Gentleman of 60, was arrested at Homorodkarácsonyfalva, beaten by hand and with rifles and ultimately released.

Kálmán Kovács, Solicitor of Sepsiszentgyörgy was arrested under similar conditions. His cell was broken into at midnight, he was tied and flogged and released two days later.

At Kissolymos after Whitsun divine service the Gendarmes flogged the young men in the market square.

At Székelykál, where we arrived on the 17-th of May, Ferenc Mátyás had been flogged a few days before.

The Unitarian preacher of Dalk, Mihály Szén, was flogged by a requisitioning detachment of soldiers.

At Szentivánlaborfalva the schoolmaster was the victim of flogging.

At Alsórákos the Choir leader of the Unitarian Church was flogged for resisting a gang of requisitioning Roumanian peasants.

At Bödözüfalva a schoolmaster personally known to us was engaged in connection with the rehearsal of a theatrical play, when the Gendarmes broke into the room and flogged him and some young girls, severely wounding two of them.

At Nyomát twelve members of the Unitarian Congregation were flogged for not having given false evidence against their preacher.

At Vadad six members of the Unitarian Congregation were flogged for not having given the evidence wanted by the Gendarmerie.

At Iklánd a member of the Congregation was flogged for refusing to give quarters to Gendarmes.

At Kinos a man was flogged for addressing a soldier in Hungarian.

Similar cases of flogging occurred at Oklánd, Abásfalva, Székelyszentmiklós and Felsőrákos, where two men died as a result of flogging.

Gábor Gál, Treasurer of the Unitarian Church at Szentgerice was shot by a Roumanian Officer for having maintained in the officers presence that one of his men had stolen his purse, which was found in the trousers of the soldier. No harm has come to the officer.

At Iklánd the Curator of the Unitarian Community, to whom we have spoken personally was sentenced by the Gendarmerie to 50 strokes with the stick or to drinking of 1 litre of brandy, for some alleged infringement under the distillery laws. The unfortunate man chose the latter form of punishment. The Gendarmes cruelly enjoyed the torture and made the old drunken man dance. Two months after the punishment he was still sick.

At Bölön a Unitarian boy enrolled for military service had been found in possession of a Hungarian flag and was consequently beaten till he died. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

András Foris a Lutheran Preacher was arrested by the Gendarmerie before New Years Eve divine service, beaten and escorted to

Segesvár and only released after several days starvation. He made a complaint to the Military command for which reason his horses, his waggon and his cow, his pigs and fowls were taken away by the Gendarmerie and his unripe wheat mown down. When he protested the flogging was renewed and he was again imprisoned for several days.

Béla Kis, Lutheran Preacher of Bácsfalu was arrested on the 31-st of December 1919. as a „Hungarian“ Clergyman. They flogged him, and when he lost his conscience gave him a blow in the stomach with a rifle so that hernia formed on his body, of which he died. (2. II. 1921.)

Ferenc Biró, Curate of Csikmádéfalva was beaten because after reading in some censured paper that the use of the Hungarian flag was permitted, he had it hoisted on one occasion. (10. II. 1921.)

Lajos Mihály, Curate of Mikóujfalva went to Székelyudvarhely to visit his arrested brother and was beaten so badly that he had to be taken home in a waggon. (10. II. 1921.)

6. Seizure of Church Schools.

Many Church communities formerly built their own schools. These were placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Government on condition that tuition would be given in them in Hungarian and that, should the Church wish to continue to run the school, the property would be restored. Other schools were let on lease to the Government. In many cases the Roumanian Government did not respect the right of property. The most conspicuous example of this we have witnessed at Csegez, where the Roumanian priest moved from his own parish into the school building of the Unitarians where he has since been living free of rent. In this town the Hungarian children have now been without a school for twelve months. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

A Zágón the Reformed Church had a school for 375 children in its own premises. Gendarmes presented themselves at the house of Lajos Antal the Reformed preacher and referring to higher orders they seized the Unitarian school for the purposes of a Roumanian Government school. At the same time it was made known in town, that the registration of school children so far effected lost validity and that parents must have their children registered at the Government school. („Brassói Lapok“ 7-th Sept. 1921.)

The Controller of County Nagyöküllő ordered under No. 920/1924 that the buildings and Choir leader's lodgings belonging to the churches must be evacuated by the 25-th of December 1920 at

the latest, and the equipment and furniture handed over to the Headmaster of the Government School. (2. II. 1921.)

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At Magyarsáros (County Kisküküllő) and Csegez (County Torda-Aranyos) the Unitarian School buildings were seized and handed over to the teacher of the Government school in October 1920. (2. II. 1921.)

At Küküllőszéplak the Roumanians did not acknowledge the appointment of a Schoolmaster by the Unitarian Bishop. At the time of our visit the village had no Hungarian School as the Roumanians had taken possession of the Reformed School. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

At Sinfalva the Church community can only use part of its own school building and the flat of the schoolmaster was seized by the Roumanians without any compensation. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

At Újszentháromság and Csikfalva the Gendarmes lived at the house of the schoolmaster for twelve months without paying rent. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

At Vámosudvarhely the school building is the property of the Unitarian Reformed religious school organization which was taken possession of by the Roumanians without any compensation, for the purposes of a Government School. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

At Gyergyóalfalu the Primpretor only left one school room for the Roman Catholic school (a school with 6 forms) in the building owned by the Church itself. The „Civic“ school received orders to leave the building of the Church. („Ellenzék“ 30. XI. 1921.)

The Controller of County Udvarhely issued an order in the month of September 1920 according to which the buildings and Choir leaders lodgings and equipment belonging to the Churches were to be handed over to the Headmaster of the Government school by the 25-th of December 1920. (2. II. 1921.)

At Homorodszentmárton the Unitarian school building was seized by the Gendarmerie together with the whole equipment on the 17-th September 1920. (2. II. 1921.)

At Székelyzsombor József Rozsonday 7. Closing of Schools.

Hungarian Lutheran preacher started registering the children under compulsion to attend school. The Gendarmes appeared at the school and sealed the premises of the same referring to higher orders. The

preacher was informed that in case he should continue the registration of pupils he would be arrested for observing a behaviour directed against the interests of the State.

At Csikszentmiklos (Borzsoara) the Roman Catholic school was closed by the Primpretor of Felcsik, in the face of a written permission issued under No. 308050/920 by the Secretary of State authorizing the continuation of the same. Even the school forms were taken away by order of the Primpretor.

At Csikmádéfalva the Roman Catholic school was closed.

At Nyárádremete a prohibition order was issued against the old Roman Catholic School. (2. II. 1921.)

The old Reformed School at Vadad (County Maros Torda) was closed by order of the Primpretor (Vice Prefect) of Nyárádszereda under date of the 12-th of January 1921 on the ground that the school had no permission from the Secretary of State. (2. II. 1921.)

At Homorodujfalu and Désfalva the Unitarian school buildings were seized, the Choir leader of the latter place evicted and his lodgings assigned to the Government Schoolmaster. In the month of November and December 1920, the Primpretor, closed the Unitarian schools at Bencéd, Városfalva, Gyepes and Abásfalva without any explanation as to the causes of this measure. (2. II. 1921.)

8. Rents collected from churches after schools forming their own property

At Kálnok, Árkos, Vargyas, Recsenyéd, Homorodjánosfalva, Alsosiménfalva and Homorodkarácsonyfalva rents are collected

for the use of school buildings erected by the Church community or by the town Council. At Magyarország the Hungarian Government erected a building on the site of the Church Community comprising 8 rooms out of which only two were allowed to be used and the whole building offered for purchase to the Church Community.

At Oklánd, the Hungarian Government had also erected a school building on the site of the Church Community, which latter is now made to pay rent for the use of the building. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

9. Former Government Schools let on lease

At Torockó 2 school rooms were appointed for 220 Unitarian children in the former Hungarian Government school building. One Room was placed at the disposal of Roumanian children and another room was left empty. At Csekefalva only one room was placed at the disposal of the town Council, the others were closed. In the village of Kiskede,

Nagykede, Csekefalva, Gagy, Szentgericze, Felsőrákos, Alsóboldogfalva and Nagyajta the Roumanian Government collects rent from Church communities for the use of buildings in which formerly free schools were maintained by the Hungarian Government.

Extract from the report of the Rev. **10. Compulsion to visit Government Schools**
 Sidney B. Snow on the Transylvanian
 tour of the American Unitarian Committee, dated the 20-th of October 1920. „Before the Roumanian invasion the Transylvanians sent their children to Government schools or church schools subsidised by the Government. The Government schools were entirely taken over by the Roumanians and all subsidies withdrawn from the church school. The Hungarians of Transylvania are however distrustful with regard to Roumanian Government schools and this distrust is well founded as we had the opportunity of seeing that the Roumanian Government Schoolmaster took his Hungarian pupils to the Greek Oriental school. The Hungarians feel that the Government schools are all in the service of the Roumanian Nationalization, for which reason they have set up a large number of Church schools.“

The setting up of Church schools at Csegez, Kissolymos, Újszékely and Szent Ábrahám (Sicilian villages) was not permitted and at these latter places the children were forced to join the Government school.

At Bodolla (County Háromszék) all parents not willing to have their children registered at the Government schools were fined by the Controller at the rate of 5 Lei. Children were prohibited to visit the Church school. (10. II. 1921.)

At Oltzem (County Háromszék) the Primar of the town summoned the parents of children under compulsion to attend at school for registration on the 4-th of September 1921. Parents who wished their children to visit Church schools were grossly abused and threatened. The Primar also notified Civil servants, that they will be removed from their posts or have their pensions withdrawn with the obligation to refund the amounts already paid out to them under this heading and finally that they will be treated as instigators against the State if they send their children to church schools. (Censured number of „Brassói Lapok“ 9-th September 1921.)

In the month of September 1921 an Official Society formed for the benefit of War Orphans at Ilyefalva invited the members of the Congregations through their Churches to contribute towards this end and then made public that „only persons sending their children to Government schools and not to Church schools would be entitled to

assistance in the form of bread, clothing or money". (Brassói Lapok 24-th September 1921.)

At Sepsiszentgyörgy the Roumanian Authorities seized the „Refuge for the Poor“, erected by the public of County Háromszék in which 40 War orphans were then placed. Part of these were placed there against the wishes of the Siculian parents. These children were made to join the Roumanian school. („Brassói Lapok“ 26. II. 1921.)

11. Town Councils not to contribute towards the expenses of Church schools.

The Primpretor (Vice Prefect) of Gyergyó forbade the town Councils to contribute towards the expenses of the Roman Catholic schools. He sent a notice to the Councils of various towns according to which „contribution of town Councils towards the expenses of Church schools will in future be regarded as an action against the interests of the State“. (Ellenzék 30. XI. 1921.)

12. Pupils of other religions excluded from church schools

The Controller of County Udvarhely issued an order No. 836/920. to the Unitarian school at Székelykeresztur prohibiting the registration of pupils of other religions. (2. II. 1921.)

13. Roman Catholics must be taught the Greek Oriental religion

At Mikóújfalu and Sepsibükszád children of Roman Catholic parents who may have been Greek Orientals some time ago, were not allowed to be taught the Roman Catholic religion and forced to visit the Government schools. (10. II. 1921.)

Extract from Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities, dated the 9-th December 1919.

Art. 8. § 3. „No restrictions whatever must be laid on any Roumanian subject in connection with the free use of any language either in private life or in business, in any religious publication or in the Press or in public meetings.“

IV.

The right of Minorities to use their language.

1. The language as the main instrument of vexation ..

Extract from the report of the Rev. Sidney B. Snow, dated the 20-th of October 1920. on the tour of investigation made by the American Unitarian Committee in Transylvania: „Among the most painful troubles of the

Hungarians of Transylvania are those trifling insults, needle pricks, arbitrary measures by which the Administration, filled with feelings of enmity constantly worries them.

Had half the work and trouble, which was used in translating into Roumanian the Hungarian inscriptions and posters, in places where no one speaks Roumanian, been put into useful measures of Administration, the Hungarians might perhaps bless the new Rule. This tendency for Roumanian Nationalization, carried to an absurd degree, is best seen on railway crossings in the Sicilian districts where in the midst of a purely Hungarian population all inscriptions and notices have carefully been replaced by Roumanian ones.

In some of our towns the members of our congregations were forced to delete the Unitarian device „There is only one God“ usually written above the doors.

All communications addressed to Roumanian Authorities must be made in the Roumanian language. In the month of June an application was made by the Unitarian Bishop which had been translated into Roumanian and in which he requested that permission should be given for the ordinary meeting of the Church to be held in the month of August. The application was rejected with the intimation that the words „Unitarian Bishop“ which appeared in the old seal of the Bishop in the Hungarian language, must be translated into Roumanian.

At Dicsőszentmárton, — where we spent several days — people could not invite us to visit them without first filing a regular application in Roumanian.

In the Sicilian districts where hardly anyone knows Roumanian, applications must be made in the Roumanian language, even if they deal with the most insignificant matters. It will be readily understood how terribly burdensome the translation of such applications must be for the population in out of the way villages. (Report of S. B. Snow.)

At Sepsiszentgyörgy, a town with a population of 8665 out of whom only 108 speak Roumanian, at a written direction received from the Prefect, Dr. Zakarias Krisan the Primar ordered that shop signs must bear inscriptions stating not only the line of business in the Roumanian language in the very first place (this was carried out as far back as in 1919 causing enormous outlay) but also the name of the firm which must be given in Roumanian before all others. Where the Hungarian and the Roumanian names are identical,

2. Street signs and shop signs replaced by Roumanian inscriptions.. ..

the Christian names to be given first and then the surname. After the Roumanian style of the name, the Hungarian style may be used. Industrial and merchants are under a fine of 10.000 lei, bound to apply in their own handwriting for the alteration of their name in this sense. (19. II. 1921.)

At Zilah, where out of 8062 inhabitants the Roumanians number 529, the following order was published on the 25-th of June 1919 signed „Captain Emilian Piso“ in the name of the Garrison Commander:

„In accordance with the corresponding order of the Governing Council it is hereby ordered:

Shop inscriptions must be removed if only written in Hungarian and replaced by Roumanian or Roumanian-Hungarian inscriptions by the 10-th of July next. („Szilágyság“ No. 27—10. VI. 1919.)

The carrying into effect of such measures was connected with great difficulties in Hungarian towns, where there was hardly one intelligent Roumanian living. During the period of terrorism the signs in question were only translated into such Roumanian as is spoken in Transylvania. The Authorities therefore ordered that the new Roumanian signs should be altered once more and exclusively the language spoken in Bucarest used on them. Thus at Arad, a city with a population of 63.166 out of which 10.279 are Roumanians, János Rabu the Burgomaster issued an order under date of the 18-th of November 1919 stating that whereas the signs are written in bad Roumanian:

„With reference to my notice issued under No. 13.890/1919 firms using incorrect expressions on their signs are under legal consequences invited to have them replaced by correct ones within 3 days“. („Arad és Vidéke“ No. 237, 29-th Nov. 1919.)

At Brassó, where out of a population of 41.056 there are 17.832 Hungarians, 11.786 Roumanians and 10.841 Germans, the names of the streets were under Hungarian rule marked in Roumanian only, in the Roumanian district (Bolgárváros), also this district was inhabited by a certain number of Hungarians. In the other town districts the street names were marked in three languages, viz: Hungarian, German and Roumanian. At present only Roumanian inscriptions are tolerated by the new Roumanian Government. („Ellenzék“ No. 88. 19-th April 1922.)

Déva has a population of 8654 of which the Roumanians number 2417, yet the Burgomaster Mr. Simion Campean ordered that all

foreign (Hungarian) signs shall be replaced by Roumanian inscriptions, within 8 days. („Curierul Hunedoarei“) No. 14. 4-th of May 1919.)

At Kézdivásárhely, where out of a population of 6079 only 50 speak Roumanian, an order was received, according to which foreign (Hungarian) signs must be replaced by Roumanian inscriptions. („Székely Ujság“, censored George Coman, No. 52. 29-th May 1919.)

Garrison Commander Mihali issued the following order at Vajdahunyad (pop. 4520, of which 1789 Roumanians): „Within 4 days from the publication of this order only signs with Roumanian inscriptions shall be seen in Vajdahunyad and district All. Authorities of the Town and district, as well as merchants etc. who have sign-boards or inscriptions must conform to this order.“ (Poster 15-th Jan. 1919.)

Szatmár has a population of 34892, of which 986 are Roumanians. On the 22-nd of April 1920 an order was published under No. 243 by Colonel Neagu the Garrison Commander and Lieut. Colonel Oslan, Military Commander of the Town to the effect that: All shop inscriptions, street signs shall be Roumanian. This order was enforced in the strictest manner in this Hungarian town. (Poster.)

The population of Csikszereda numbers 3591 of which 44 speak Roumanian. The police ordered the restaurant keepers and cafés to use Roumanian inscriptions and moreover he stated the names of some Roumanian National heroes after whom the places were to be named. The proprietors of Café Otthon, Café Kossuth and Café Europe were fined 1000 Lei each by the Captain of the Police for not having got ready the new signs in time. (Ellenzék 30-th September 1920.)

At Temesvár, census was taken in the month of January 1919 under the control of the French General Gambetta and the population was found to number 71.800 with only 6052 Roumanians, 41.979 Hungarians and 20.342 Germans. Yet the Roumanian Authorities had the old street signs removed and replaced by purely Roumanian inscriptions and the names of Roumanian prominent men. („Temesvári Hírlap“ 19-th Sept. 1920.)

In its issue dated the 5-th of August 1921 the „Romania Noua“ reports the **3. Compulsory courses of languages** 3000 Hungarian and German Transylvanian schoolmasters received an order from Mr. Negulescu, Minister of Education to attend courses of the Roumanian language in 4 specially appointed towns of the Kingdom of Roumania. The Schoolmasters, seeing their daily bread threatened punctually presented themselves at the towns appointed for this purpose where however nothing was known about the courses in question. They were directed from one town to another till finally, after a long

period of painful trials, starving and with ragged clothes and full of vermin, they returned to their families.

4. Persons not speaking Roumanian will not be eligible to be members of the taxation complaints committee.

At Kolozsvár (pop. 60.808 with 7562 Roumanians) the Chamber of Trade and Commerce delegated Mr. Joseph Hevesi, the President of the Trades section of the Chamber into the taxation complaint committee. The President of the latter however rejected the Gentleman in question, on the ground that he could not speak Roumanian well enough. („Ellenzék“ 3-rd Febr. 1922.)

5. Lower Public Offices to use exclusively the Roumanian language.. ..

The „Brassói Lapok“ dated the 1-st of October 1921 reports as follows: The population is compelled to use the Roumanian language in connection with all its trifling affairs and to submit applications in the Roumanian language. It may be imagined how inconvenient, troublesome and wasteful both as regards outlay, time and work it must be if even the most insignificant report on the lease of a flat has to be drawn up in Roumanian! How fatiguing for every citizen to comply with the innumerable orders and formalities connected with taxation, payment of Government dues, military affairs, passports, arrivals, departures, housing matters, business transactions and one thousand other things, when alterations are made every day in orders and laws and when the interested parties are compelled to seek a person able to translate their complaints, requests, reports etc. into Roumanian and in addition to accompany them to the public offices as interpreter, so that they may satisfactorily fulfil their duties of vital importance. From the point of view of the Government and from humane considerations it would be most-desirable that every serious magistrate should consider it his task to enable the citizens to fulfil their duties towards the State in peace and safety.

The „Temesvári Hirlap“ in its number of the 19-th February 1922 makes the following complaint: „The use of one language in connection with public offices is most burdensome and fatiguing for the population. With all due respect to the language of the State, we consider it most detrimental, from the point of view of an expeditious settlement of public affairs, that official documents are worded in Roumanian only and that applications can only be made in the Roumanian language. This compulsion for the use of one official language goes so far, that even inscriptions over the doors at public offices are only written in one language. The application of this same measure to street names is most confusing for the citizen“. (Temesvári Hirlap, 19. II. 1922.)

Cabinet Minister Dr. Aurel Cosma delivered a speech at Temesvár on the 4-th of March 1922 exposing his programme and making the following statement: I do not see the reason why the Hungarians, Germans or Serbians should not be allowed to use their own language before the Authorities or why they should not draw up their official applications in their mother tongue? (Temesvári Hirlap, 5-th March 1922.)

The Chamber of Solicitors at Nagyvárad held a General Meeting on the 7-th of May 1922 where it was established that applications of the public to jurisdiction are futile so that people are compelled to take recourse to select Courts of Justice and to the Rabbis. It was also stated that: „The safety of Roumania lies not in the fact that the Judges deliberate and return sentences in Roumanian but in the possibility of all citizens „to make use of their rights“ („Nagyvárad“, 9-th May 1922). The Royal Roumanian Prosecutor at Kolozsvár issued an edict against persons referring their affairs to the select Courts of Justice approved by Law, which latter says the edict are“ apt to prove that Romanian jurisdiction is not at the height of its calling. (Nagyvárad, 6-th May 1922.)

Mr. Florescu, Minister of Justice ordered that the Hungarian language should not in future be used in applications and lawsuits, the language of Jurisdiction being the Roumanian. In accordance with this order legal procedure is exclusively Roumanian at the Arad Law Courts since the 14-th of May 1922. (Aradi Közlöny, 11-th May 1922.)

Cabinet Minister Mr. Florescu declared that „the knowledge of the Roumanian language is more important for the Judges than injury to parties seeking justice or the knowledge of local principles of justice“. (Keleti Ujság, 14-th May 1922.)

The new Director of Finance of County Udvarhely (population 124.173 of which 2840 speak Roumanian) Mr. Stoianu declared on taking possession of his post: „I shall not accept applications in Hungarian and will not tolerate that such applications are dealt with. I will not tolerate the Hungarian language in the offices either“. (Brassói Lapok, No. 109, 13-th May 1922.)

In the month of December 1921 at the meeting of the Committee on Public Administration of County Udvarhely (population 124.173, of which only 2840 Roumanians), Dénes Elekes Complained that important public notices connected with the new taxation Laws, were only posted up in Roumanian.

The Civil Servants occupied with preparatory work for the enforcement of the new laws, do not know Hungarian and are therefore unable to speak to the people. (Székely Hírek, 11-th of December 1921.)

In The „Lugoser Zeitung“ (12. VII. 1919.) reports a request of the citizens for the attention of the Roumanian Burgomaster of Lugos (population 19,818, of which 6875 Hungarians, 6151 Germans and 6227 Roumanians) purporting that orders and notices emanating from the Town Council should not only be issued in Roumanian but in the three usual languages to prevent superfluous vexations and punishments.

Considering that the citizens have so far had no opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the Roumanian language the population expresses the hope that this humble request will be complied with and treated differently from a similar application made on the same subject.

6. Railway servants not to give replies in Hungarian to questions of passengers.

According to the decision of the Roumanian Ministerial Council, the Board of Administration of the Roumanian Railways issued a circular order No. 46.482/1921. strictly prohibiting the signalling of the departure of the trains in the Hungarian language by porters on railway stations. Railway servants are to give explanations to the travelling public only in Roumanian in order not to offend the prestige and dignity of the Roumanian Nation. The carrying out of this order is to lend a cosmopolitan character to Roumania.

7. Business books to be kept in the Roumanian language, Manufacturers labels to be worded in Roumanian only.. . . .

Merchants and business enterprises have been invited to keep their business books in Roumanian from the 1-st of October 1921. During the rule of the Hungarians, businesses were at liberty to keep their books in any language of the country. Roumanian Banks, Syndicates and enterprises were free to keep their books in Roumanian and enjoyed the same protection before the law courts as those having Hungarian or German books. The use of note paper for correspondence with Hungarian headings is also prohibited for Merchants, Tradesmen and business enterprises in general. The attention of the Roumanian Authorities has even gone so far as to prohibit the use of Hungarian labels on goods. (2. XI. 1921.) An order issued in the month of May 1922. provides that goods manufactured in Transylvania shall bear labels etc. worded exclusively in Roumanian. („Brassói Lapok“ 8-th May 1922.)

8. Adoption of Roumanian geographical names. . . .

On taking over the rule the Government regarded it as one of his most important duties — after the discharge of the old civil servants — to alter all the old geographical names. The use of these was controlled

by the police and detectives of the Siguranta even in street conversations. Infringement under this heading is brutally punished as being against the interests of the State. Even the uniformly Hungarian old Sicilian Country was not spared in this respect. Thus v. gr. in County Udvarhely, József Máthé the District Notari of Bradest (?) was compelled to word his posters and notifications in the papers as follows: The hunting preserves at Satu-Mare, Tarnavita and Beclean are to be let on lease. („Székely Hírek“ Székelyudvarhely, 22-nd February 1922.)

Hungarian papers and periodicals must only use the hurriedly and confusedly introduced Roumanian geographical names and may only give the old Hungarian equivalents in brackets.

9. Roumanian geographical names and the Hungarian Press.

Geographical names occurring within the text of articles must also be given in Roumanian. Roumanian geographical names are also obligatory in newspaper advertisements. Such names are v. gr. Odorheiu (Székelyudvarhely) where out of a population of 10.244 only 11 speak Roumanian, St.-Georghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) with a population of 8665 of which 158 speak Roumanian, Targu Mures (Marosvásárhely) inhabited by 25.517 people of which 1717 Roumanian speaking etc.

Dr. György Bernády the only elected member of Parliament of two millions of Hungarians in his first parliamentary speech in the Roumanian Parliament on

10. Parliamentary statement on the language question of the only representative of two millions of Hungarians

the 10-th of April 1922 made the following uncontradicted statement: „Our people will soon be in an absurd position owing to the strict measures which are introduced day by day in connection with the exclusive use of the language of the State, especially so in districts inhabited by compact masses of Hungarians. People are unable to bear the heavy expenses resulting from the translation of applications. In many cases too, it happens that the translations get into the hands of not sufficiently intelligent or even incompetent translators, when their justified claims are not only rejected but applicants are laid open to unpleasantness as well. Trials before the Courts are becoming more difficult every day, because at present our mother language is only known by an insignificant portion of judges and Prosecutors.“ (Aradi Közlöny, 13-th of May 1922.)

Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities, dated the 19-th of December 1919.

Art. 9. Minorities of race, religion or language to enjoy the same legal treatment and security as Roumanians born.

V.

A) Roumanian Nationalization of High Schools.

1. Roumanian Nationalization of the Kolozsvár University.

On the 7-th of April 1919 the Prefect of Kolozsvár invited the Staff of Professors to swear allegiance to King Ferdinand I of Roumania. As the Professors were not inclined to take the oath, the University was declared to be a Roumanian Government School by a Governmental edict No. 4336/1919 and the Professors only allowed to complete the terms already begun. As the beginning of the term 1919/1920 the new Roumanian University was opened and the Hungarian Professors definitely discharged from their posts. The following is the protocol of one of the faculties of the University on the proceedings:

A) 1/a. The Professors of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár invited to swear the oath of allegiance on the 11-th of May 1919

Protocol drawn up at the first extraordinary meeting of the faculties of mathematics and of natural history (Physics) of the Hungarian Francis Joseph University,

Kolozsvár 11-th of May 1919.

Attendance: President Dr. Rudolf Fabinyi, ord. Professor Dean of the University; Dr. Gyula Szadeczky, Dr. Frigyes Riesz, Dr. István Györfly, Dr. Péter Pfeiffer, Dr. Alfred Haar ord. Professors; Dr. Béla Ruzitska, Dr. Béla Pogány, Dr. Tibor Széki extraord. Professors; Dr. Béla Páter, lecturer.

Absent: Dr. István Apáthy extr. Professor, arrested by the army of occupation, Dr. Rudolf Ortway extr. Professor on leave in Budapest, therefore unable to attend.

Clerk: Dr. Béla Pogány, extr. Prof.

1. After reading the letter of invitation, the presiding Dean makes a statement to the effect that all members of the Staff who have sworn the official oath and who are at Kolozsvár have been invited to attend the meeting.

2. The president submits an official letter of the Rector of the University No. 1483/918 which, in connection with the notice of the Roumanian Prefect of Kolozsvár No. 700/919 makes known the order

No. 4335—1919 of the Roumanian Consiliul Dirigent of Nagyszeben issued concerning the official oath of the Professors of the University, running as follows.

„Roumanian Governing Council, Department of Education and Culture. No. 4335—919 Sibiu I—V. 1919.

Dear Mr. Prefect, With reference to my order issued on the 10-th of March under No. 2113 concerning the swearing

in of the Professors of the University of Kolozsvár, I request that you will inform all ordinary and extraordinary Professors that they may at once swear allegiance to His Majesty King Ferdinand I and the Governing Council. In case of refusal they will be considered as having renounced all the rights hitherto enjoyed and the Governing Council will be free from all obligations in regard to the Gentlemen in question.

In order that Public Education should not suffer, I herewith beg to inform you that even in case the Professors should refuse to be sworn in, I give permission for them to continue their work till the end of the summer term proposed by the Council of the University, under a system of control, naturally to be organized by us. During this final period their salaries will regularly be paid by the Governing Council.

Please communicate the contents of this order to the University Council and the whole Staff of Professors and let me know the results so that I can take further measures.“

Addressed to the Town Prefect of Kolozsvár from Mr. Braniste, Minister of Education.

The following is the copy of the accompanying letter of Prefect Dr. Bálint Porutiu.

„To Dr. István Schneller, University Professor, Rector Magnificus, Hungarian University Kolozsvár.

I have the honour of sending you enclosed the legalized translation of the edict of the Governing Council Nagyszeben issued under date of the 8-th of May No. 4339/1919, requesting you to kindly communicate the contents of same to the ordinary and extraordinary Professors of the University without delay, so that I may be in possession of the reply to be given thereto, by the 12-th of May at 10 am.

In this connection I beg to draw your attention to the promise of the Roumanian Governing Council (Department for Education and Religion) contained in its letter of the 23-rd of March addressed to

A) 1/b. Professors of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár either to swear allegiance without delay on the 12-th of May 1919 or to lose all rights hitherto enjoyed

Francis Joseph University, Kolozsvár



Central building.



National Theatre Kolozsvár.

me under No. 2113/919 to the effect that University Professors having sworn the oath of fidelity to the King of Roumania and to the Governing Council may be left to enjoy their rights, provided that they



Roumanian national festival held at the foot of the King Mihail Memorial, Kolozsvár 1920.

acquire the knowledge of the Roumanian language in word and writing well enough to hold lectures in Roumanian at the University.

While informing you of the above I beg to state that should I for some reason or other not be in possession of a reply by the

date mentioned, I will at once proceed to take measures in the matter.

Kindly attach the list of Professors willing to take the oath, to your reply, requesting them at the same time to present themselves in the hall of the University to be sworn in, on the 12-th of May at 11 a. m.

Kolozsvár, 9-th of May 1919, signed Dr. Porutiu."

I. After acquainting those present with the contents of the communications received, the Dean of the University declares that according to the by-laws of the University and the Autonomy of the faculties, the Staff of the Professors in competent to express a view as to the principles of the proposal, and that individual questions affecting the single members of the Staff must be dealt with in keeping with the views of each member separately.

The members of the Staff, attending the meeting are therefore invited to state their opinions in connection with the scheme under review and make their statements on questions affecting them individually.

The Staff, after taking note of the communications of the Dean discusses its details and returns the following:

DECISION:

A) 1/e. The legal position of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár until the conclusion of the peace ..

Whereas the Francis Joseph University of Kolozsvár, in accordance with not only the Hungarian Act of Parliament No. XIX. of the year of 1872 dealing with its foundation but also with its past, dating back to nearly half a century is a University of the Hungarian State and bound to maintain this character by its internationally recognized sovereignty until other measures are taken in some legal form by the Hungarian State (the only one competent to deal with this matter) as to where the University belongs to and,

Whereas the Staff of the Faculties of Mathematics and of Natural History (Physics) of the Francis Josef University has no knowledge of the Hungarian State having waived the sovereign rights so far enjoyed and exercised by the Kolozsvár University in favour of any parties in any sense or form, and further as the Kingdom of Roumania and the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben acting as its representatives, are not in a position to produce proofs as to the waiving or transfer of rights by the Hungarian State,

Therefore the Faculties of Mathematics and of Natural History of the Kolozsvár University cannot recognise the lawfulness of the principle expressed in the communication of the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben according to which the University of Kolozsvár is represented as an Institution belonging to the Roumanian State and the Roumanian State entitled, either through the Nagyszeben Governing Council or through other organs, to control the Staff of the University or to dispose of it in any way.

But owing to the fact that the seat of the University is at present militarily occupied by a foreign power, in the question of the legal position of the University and its employees the only legal basis capable of consideration is declared to be the oath of fidelity of civil servants taken by the Professors of the University to the Hungarian Constitution,

as also their official responsibility as Civil Servants of Hungary, on the one part, and Conventions IV. and II respectively adopted by the Hague International Peace Congress of 1899 and 1907 respectively (accepted by the King-

A) 1st. Provisions of the International Convention of the Hague of 1907 accepted by Roumania, dealing with the principles of international law, as applicable to military occupation

dom of Roumania at the time) defining the principles of international law, as applicable to military occupation, on the other part.

The „Réglement concernant les lois et coutumes de la guerre sur terre“ accepted by the II-nd Hague Conference provides in its Art. 43 that occupying powers shall be bound to maintain the old laws existing on the territories occupied, unless there be an absolute hindrance. From this obligation it follows that public functionaries appointed or elected under a standing law must be left in their posts, according to the interpretation expressly set out in the minute book of the Conference. (Prot. port. III. page 120.)

How earnestly it was intended to bind occupying powers to respect old rights and Civil Servants appointments is obvious from the fact that a departure from this course is only allowed in the case of a „hindrance“ and not in case of simple military necessity as was originally planned. (Prot. p. III. page 127.)

In accordance with the above international principles the instructions on International Law published for the officers of the French army (Manuel de droit international a l'usage des officiers) contain the following particulars:

The power of occupation must not invite Civil Servants individually to continue in their posts and they must not be asked to swear

an oath nor to give an expressed declaration of consent. (Bonfils : Manuel de droit des gens 1174.)

Finally Art. 45 of the Hague Convention prohibits occupying powers to obtain the oath of fidelity from the population of the occupied territories by compulsion.

As regards interference with the affairs of the Kolozsvár University, this is also in contradiction with Art. 56 of the Hague Convention according to which the property of Institutions set up for educational and scientific purposes, is to be treated as private property, even if they are Governmental institutions. According to the principle of the sanctity of private property, the Universities to be treated as such cannot be made to depart from their destination and interference with their administration is not justified.

A) 1/e. University Professors refuse to swear fidelity, with reference to their internationally guaranteed legal position, their honour as citizens and their official oath

Based on the above the Staff of Professors of the Faculties of Mathematics and of Natural History (Physics) is not in a position to take cognizance of the desire of the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben to expropriate this Institute in the face of the international guarantees given, to paralyse the work of the University with an utter disregard of our fundamental laws and the interests of several thousands of people.

This Educational Institution has sprung and developed half a century ago from a thousand years of existence of the Hungarian State, for which reason reference is made to the solemn promises repeatedly made in connection with the undisturbed working of the University, by the military representatives of the Entente Powers who visited this Country, and the taking over of the official control is not recognized as lawful and energetically protested against. Application for remedy will be made to the Peace Conference.

As a further result of the above decision the members of our Faculties referring to their honour as Hungarian citizens and their official oath, refuse to swear fidelity to the State of Roumania and declare to remain in the posts entrusted to them by authority of the State of Hungary, in the spirit of their oath as Civil Servants, until other instructions are given by Hungary, — the only State competent to deal with this matter, in connection with their future position and their future duties.

II. While making known this decision the presiding Dean of the University invites each member of the Staff by name, to state

their opinions individually on the subject of the oath of fidelity alluded to in the communication of the Roumanian Governing Council. After taking cognizance of the statements in question the President establishes the fact that the taking of the oath has been refused by: Signatures: Rudolf Fabinyi, Dr. Gyula Szadeczky, Dr. Frigyes Riesz, Dr. István Györffy, Dr. Alfred Haar, Dr. Péter Pfeiffer, ord. Professors and Dr. Béla Ruzitska, Dr. Béla Pogány extraordinary Professors.

Professors willing to be sworn in: — — —

III. Whereas decision in this matter is considered to come within the autonomy of the Staff of the Faculties the desire is expressed that the University Council shall only limit itself to collect the copies of the protocols arriving from the various Faculties and to transmit them to the competent Authorities with a short accompanying letter, without any comment.

A legalized copy of this protocol to be issued to the members of the Faculties if desired.

PROTOCOL.

„Drawn up in Kolozsvár on the 12-th of May 1919 on the transfer or the taking over respectively of the Botanical Institute, the Botanical Gardens and the Botanical Collection of the Hungarian Francis Josef University, to and by the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben. A) One of the protocols dealing with the forcible taking in possession of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár dated the 12-th of May 1919

Attendance: By direction of the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben: Dr. Alexander Borza and Victor Latiu.

In representation of the Botanical Institute of the University: Dr. István Györffy, József Pápai and Erzsébet Pákh, Assistants.

Clerk: Victor Latiu.

1. Dr. Alexander Borza and Victor Latiu present themselves at the above Institutes of the Francis Joseph University, by direction of the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben. They inform Dr. István Györffy, Director of the Botanical Institute etc. that the aforesaid Governing Council takes under its direction and control the Institutes mentioned. The Director is therefore requested in his capacity as an officer of the University to take cognizance of this order of the Governing Council mentioned and to hand over the Botanical Institute to Dr. Alexander

Borza together with the corresponding inventory. Unless this request is complied with, the inventory will be drawn up under compulsion.

Director István Györffy declares that in his capacity as a Director etc. of the Botanical Institute of the Francis Joseph University of Kolozsvár he only recognizes the Hungarian State as his superior Authority and is only willing to effect the transfer of the Institution by direction of this Authority. At the same time he protests against the order of the Roumanian Governing Council of Nagyszeben on grounds of incompetency and refuses to effect the transfer or to collaborate in this connection.

Dr. Alexander Borza hereafter declares to be in the necessity of using violence. He accordingly summons two Roumanian soldiers on duty there, whose appearance is regarded as a measure of violence whereafter Mr. Györffy, Director of the Botanical Institute declares to be willing to surrender to violence. He proceeds to hand over the keys, stating that he only takes over the responsibility in connection with the equipment, if the inventory is drawn up in his presence. The present protocol is made out and signed in two specimens."

*

The same was the procedure when on the 11-th of May 1919 other Faculties of the University were compelled to swear allegiance and when on the 12-th of May the other Institutions of the University were forcibly taken possession of. This happened two years before the ratification of the Treaty of Peace (26-th July 1921) by virtue of which Transylvania was allotted to the Kingdom of Roumania.

A) 2. Roumanian Nationalization of the Roman Catholic Academy of Law, Nagyvárád.. ..

Similar things happened at Nagyvárád where the Royal Roman Catholic Academy of Law was declared to be a Roumanian State Academy. The Director

and one or two Professors of the Academy, after taking the oath of fidelity required, were left in their posts and allowed to lecture in Hungarian to Hungarian students but at the same time bound to learn the Roumanian language. The Professors of Roumanian Nationality newly appointed are lecturing in Roumanian and thus the Roumanian Nationalization of this Institution may be regarded as an accomplished fact. (Extract from the report of refugee Professors.)

The Reformed Academy of Law of Máramarossziget was provisionally allowed to continue its work. Individual action was however taken against its Professors under various titles, so that they had to take to flight. Finally, the Institution was closed at the end of the term of 1919/1920, under the charge that the Professors were guilty of an anti Roumanian conspiracy. The Academy was then moved to Hódmezővásárhely. (Extract from the report of the Headmaster).

A) 3. Discontinuation of the Reformed Academy of Law of Máramarossziget

This Institution was treated in the same way as the University, and nationalized by the Roumanians at the beginning of the term of 1919/1920. The Hungarian Farming Academy was outside the town, — writes Mr. Lupu a radical member of the Roumanian Parliament, — its building, equipment and its work were such as are seldom seen in the whole world. The Staff of Professors was the pride of Transylvania, but it was replaced by Roumanians with a moderate qualification. („Luptatorul“ 18-th September 1920.)

A) 4. Roumanian Nationalization of the Farming Academy of Kolozsmonostor.

As students not speaking Roumanian could not continue their studies at the High Schools Nationalized by the Roumanians, the Hungarian Churches, viz: The Roman Catholic, the Reformed, the Unitarian and the Lutheran Church came to an arrangement purporting the setting up of a Hungarian University at Kolozsvár with the moral and material assistance of the Hungarian public of Transylvania. They reported this intention of theirs to the Roumanian Government in the spring of 1920. No definite refusal was received from the Government in this connection but the final decision is kept in suspense to this day for various objections, and the Government declared that no permission would be forthcoming for the setting up of a Hungarian University at Kolozsvár.

A) 5. No permission was given for an Inter-Congregational Hungarian University.

Under the Laws of the Reformed Church sanctioned by the King of Roumania during the swearing in ceremony of the Bishop, — a Teachers Training College was kept up in connection with the Reformed Theological Institute. The College had 157 students during the previous year. On the 6-th of October 1921. Mr. Peter Porutiu, a University Professor presented himself in the College accompanied by Ministerial Councillor Felician and the Chief of the Police. They sealed the premises of the College and produced an

A) 6. Closing of the Secondary School Teachers' Training College at Kolozsvár.

order signed by Secretary of State Oct. Prie, referring to the discontinuation of the College. („Brassói Lapok“ 10-th Oct. 1921.)

A) 7. Seizure of the Academy of Commerce of Kolozsvár. Although a separate Commercial School had been set up at Kolozsvár by the Roumanian Government, the latter seized the Academy of Commerce, belonging to the Society of Trade and Industry there. The „Superior School of Commerce“ was founded at Kolozsvár in 1878. by a number of enthusiastic supporters (Zsigmond Gaman, Secretary of the Chamber of Industry, Heinrich Finaly, a University Professor, István Bogdan, President of the Commercial Society, Károly Várady, School Superintendent and Professor Sándor Kiss). Only a portion of 1462 sq. metres of the site forming the private property of the Academy of Commerce (total area 5977 sq. m.) was a contribution of the City Council on condition that the language of tuition should be the Hungarian. It was further stipulated that in case the Academy lose its Hungarian character, the City Council shall be entitled to take back into its possession the site and the buildings thereon erected, paying a compensation for the latter, equal to their estimated value.

The School never had the character of a Governmental Institution. Its Professors never enjoyed the advantages to which Professors of the Government Schools were entitled. A further proof of the private character of the school is a resolution passed at the General meeting of the Kolozsvár City Council held on the 28-th of May 1880, approved by the Hungarian Minister of Religion and Education under No. 29.630/1880 running as follows: „The obligation to keep up materially the Commercial High School of Kolozsvár, rests with the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Kolozsvár, assisted by the City Council, the Supreme Government and the Kolozsvár Commercial Society. Should it not be possible to cover the requirements of this Institute with the aid of the Supreme Government and the City Council, the missing balance to be covered by the Chamber of Trade and Industry out of its own means with the assistance of the Commercial Society, the tuition fees of the students and public contribution, as the case may be“.

The Roumanian Government referring to the fact that this Institution, founded from private means and possessing the necessary buildings and a rich equipment was to a certain extent subsidized by the Hungarian Government, simply declared it to be Government property and turned it into a Roumanian School. Those who dare to raise their voice against this action, are at once charged with Bolshevism, suspected of conspiracy and punished with expulsion and expatriation. („Ellenzék“ 8-th May 1921. No. 94.)

B) Mutilation and destruction of Hungarian Historical Monuments Memorials, inscriptions etc. old and new.

At Marosvásárhely the monuments of Francis II., of Rákóczi, Louis Kossuth and General Bem of the National Army of 1848/49 were demolished. The Rev.

Sidney B. Snow, Secretary of the American Unitarian Committee writes in his report as follows: The destruction and mutilation of National Memorials increases the embitterment. At Marosvásárhely the Monuments of Kossuth and Petőfi the greatest Hungarian Poet, also those of the National heroes Rákóczi and Bem were demolished. The destruction of these was carried out by the soldiers at night and the population was not allowed in the streets.

On the 29-th of November 1921 labourers under orders of the City Council chiselled off the Hungarian inscriptions and the Hungarian Arms from King Mathias equestrian statue in the main square of Kolozsvár. („Brassói Lapok“, 29-th of September 1921.)

The monuments of Kossuth have been demolished everywhere. At Arad, Nagyszalonta, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Máramarossziget etc. the National Army Memorials of 1848/49 and all other monuments and memorials connected with the war of 1914/1918 have been demolished.

At Déva the sepulchral memorial of Ferencz Dávid, the Transylvanian religious Reformer of the XVI-th century and the Transylvanian Apostle of the

Unitarian religion was demolished and broken up. At Szatmár the same lot befell the Monument of Ferencz Kölcsey a Hungarian poet who lived in the XIX-th century. A few days after the destruction of this monument, one morning a bunch of flowers tied up with a ribbon in Hungarian National colours was found on the broken pedestal of the monument. As the monument had been erected in the small square before the Reformed Church, the Reformed preacher was made responsible. He was not only summoned before the Police but his house was searched and he personally threatened with a trial before the court martial. (21-st Oct. 1920.)

In the morning of the 15-th of March 1922 the memorial of Márton Lendvay the famous Hungarian actor was found to have been demolished at Nagybánya by unknown persons. („Ellenzék“ 20-th March 1922.)

B) 1. Mutilation and destruction of Monuments of Hungarian historical persons and Heroes

B) 2. Destruction of monuments and memorial columns of Hungarian men of science poets and artists.

In the hall of the National Theatre of Kolozsvár, the monuments of József Katona and Gábor Döbrentey were demolished. At Nagyszeben the memorial tablet of Sándor Petőfi was broken up.

Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities dated the 9-th of December 1919.

Art. 9. Minorities of race, religion or language from a legal point of view to enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees as Roumanians born.

VI.

Seizure of Social, Cultural etc. Institutions for suspension of their work.

1. Seizure of the Hungarian Theatre, Kolozsvár. Transylvanian theatrical life came into being in 1792, before Roumania ever existed, as its frontier lines only began to take a definite shape in 1856. During the past 128 years the Hungarian tongue always made itself heard in the theatre in Kolozsvár. From the 1-st of October 1919 the Roumanian Government forcibly took possession of this eminently Hungarian Social Establishment.

The cheerful contributions of the Transylvanian Hungarian Aristocracy and of generous citizens have brought into being the „Hungarian National Theatre fund of Kolozsvár“. From this the first permanent Hungarian theatre was built in 1821. After 80 years existence the building became obsolete and the Hungarian National Theatre Fund, still in existence built a new sumptuous theatre, which was opened on the 8-th of September 1906. This has been forcibly taken possession of by the Roumanian Government on the 1-st of October 1919.

1/a. The Kolozsvár Theatre was built from public contribution, Hungarian foundations and Bank loans .. The expenses of this new theatre were met out of the proceeds of the sale of the old theatre (140.000 Crowns) built by public contribution, of the property of the Hungarian National Theatre Fund of Kolozsvár and of the proceeds of the sale of the Szakatura properties and forest areas bequeathed by Sándor Kisfaludy. As the sums mentioned proved to be inadequate to cover the building expenses, a loan was contracted by the Theatre Fund with the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pesth. The annuity of this loan amounted



Photograph taken by the Wildlife Office, WLI

A International National Institute of Health study of the use of long-acting contraceptives in the United States found that 60% of women using long-acting contraceptives were satisfied with their choice. At such

to 38.000 Crowns paid by the Manager (Lessee) of the theatre out of a Government subsidy of 40.000 Crowns per annum, obtained by him for artistic purposes. It is therefore seen that the theatre had no direct connection with the Government, only insofar as the Lessee of the theatre was the recipient of an annual subsidy for artistic purposes.

1/b. According to the land register the Kolozsvár theatre is the property of the Theatrical Fund

That the theatre is not the property of the Government is best proved by the land register (Kolozsvár No. 4867 and Reg. No. 1426/4—1, Trencsén Fort square, theatre building, area 579 square fathoms). According to the list of property: The site of the theatre, was placed at the disposal of the Hungarian National Theatre Fund of Kolozsvár, by the City Council on the 14-th of March 1914 under No. 4375, provided that the said site is used for the erection of a theatre, and the building itself for the purposes of Hungarian theatrical art.

1/c. Object of the seizure of the Hungarian Theatre, Kolozsvár

In the case of this Hungarian private property the sanctity of private ownership was obviously disrespected by the Roumanian Government because there is no building in Roumania and even in Greater Roumania equal to it in appearance, equipment and in its imposing dimensions. This building was simply taken away from the new citizens of the country, who had kept it up for 128 years at a considerable expense. The object of this measure is obvious: to deal a deadly blow to Hungarian theatrical art, and to secure sumptuous palace (purely for show before foreigners) for Roumanian culture in a city with a population of 60.808, the outskirts of which are inhabited by 7562 Roumanians, as if it were the result of Roumanian efforts or of a desire for Roumanian culture.

1/d. Manner in which the Hungarian Theatre of Kolozsvár was seized

The seizure of this private property called to serve culture, took place as follows: On the 14-th of May 1919 Dr. Onisifor Ghibu, Educational Secretary of State and Dr. Vazul Hosszu, Chief Notary of the City, presented themselves in the name of the Governing Council before the Lessee of the theatre Dr. Jenő Joanovics and invited him to hand over the theatre as Government property to the Governing Council of Nagyszeben. The lessee declared that he was not the owner of the theatre but only the lessee of the same under a private contract of lease concluded with the Theatrical Com-

mittee, and not with the Government, and that therefore he was not entitled to hand over the Theatre. In spite of this, Dr. Ghibu, Secretary of State declared to take over the theatre as Government property and to transfer the sphere of action of the Hungarian Theatrical Committee in the name of the Governing Council to Mr. Constantin Pavel.

The sequestration of this Theatre of 128 years standing and built from Hungarian public contributions, took place on the 1-st of October 1919 when Dr. Bálint Porutiu, the Roumanian Prefect of Kolozsvár and Dr. Julian Pop, the Primar appeared in the sumptuous building where Prefect Porutiu addressed Dr. Jenő Joanovics as follows: „Whereas according to order Nr. 5088/1919 dated the 16-th of September, of the Governing Council, the building of the National Theatre Kolozsvár has been taken over under the direct management of the Government, and by virtue of order Nr. 5088/1919 G. dated the 25-th of September 1919 of the said Governing Council: I herewith order the theatrical performances to be discontinued at the National Theatre Kolozsvár until further notice, from the 1-st of October 1919. At the same time I invite Dr. Jenő Joanovics, the Manager to swear the oath of fidelity in which case the position of an artistic manager will be secured for him at a yearly salary to be established according to Art. 22 of the contract concluded with the Theatrical Committee under date of the 11-th of March 1913 and approved by the former Hungarian Minister for Religion and Education under No. 38.688/1913. Should he refuse to be sworn in he will be regarded as having renounced the rights guaranteed by Art. 22 of the said contract.“

The Lessee Dr. Joanovics protested against his act of violence and against the unlawful breach of his contract coming under private law. Concerning the oath of fidelity demanded, he declared that not being a Civil Servant but a private party bound by contract, the exaction of an oath of fidelity seemed strange and unusual. As regards the seriousness of the offer of the post as an Artistic Manager, he stated without any contradiction on the part of Prefect Porutiu, that this position was already filled by Messrs. Zaharia Barsan and Constantin Pavel, the former selected and already appointed as a Dramatic and the latter as an Operatic Manager.

1/e. The final act of the sequestration of the Hungarian Theatre at Kolozsvár.

The farewell performance in this theatre erected by the generousness of the Hungarian Public, took place on the 30-th of September 1919 when Shakespeare's „Hamlet“ was produced. After the play the Public refused to leave the walls of this Palace of Hun-

garian culture so that Roumanian soldiers had to be ordered into the theatre to turn out the mourning audience.

The Hungarian actors, left without a theatre, in the princely capital which at the time was purely Hungarian and the depositary of old Hungarian civilization, were out of mere mercy allowed by the Roumanians, who only represented the occupying forces, to perform in a summer theatre on the outskirts of the City, paying 14% of the gross takings into the cash of the Roumanian theatre every night, it being stipulated for the purpose that tickets sold by them must previously be stamped by the Roumanian theatre.

In this connection it is important to state that not only was the Hungarian Lessee removed forcibly from the theatre he held on private lease, but the scenery and the costumes he owned privately were also taken away for the purposes of the Roumanian Theatre. Later, after a series of troublesome applications, he could secure the use of his own scenery and theatrical costumes by way of loan but this arrangement only lasted a short time and now he can only use the properties necessary on payment of a certain fee.

Voices were raised even in Roumanian circles against this barbarous treatment of Hungarian Theatrical Art.—Thus Mr. Lupu, a former Home Minister and member of the Roumanian Parliament, severely criticises these measures in the „Luptatorul“ under date of the 1-st of May 1920.

2. Position of other Hungarian theatres.. . . .

The Hungarian theatre of Temesvár burnt down — by accident — as it was stated. At Arad, theatrical performances were unexpectedly suspended for the reason that Roumanian actors were to play in the theatre for several nights. At times, actors are ordered off the stage to report themselves at the police quarters for various vexatious pretexts (cases of Lily Poor and Gyula Hegedüs). At Nagyvárad the name of the Hungarian theatre has been changed into Roumanian and the Hungarian performances were unexpectedly stopped for the sake of itinerant Roumanian Companies. At Szatmár and Máramarossziget performances are disturbed and stopped by „Agents provocateurs“. Even Shakespeare's plays are censured, Military censors attend rehearsals and performances, and create disturbances.

There was a Hungarian private theatre at Brassó, called the „Apollo“ in which cinema pictures and theatrical performances were produced. This theatre has been taken away from its rightful owner.

At Nagybánya the performances of the Hungarian theatre were stopped on the 25-th of July 1921 and the establishment placed at the free disposal of a Roumanian company consisting of four members. A few days after the Hungarian performances were definitely stopped. („Keleti Ujság“ 2-nd August 1921.)

The Transylvanian Museum, the only Scientific Society of the Hungarians of Transylvania was founded at Kolozsvár in 1859. In the year of 1872 this museum placed its collections of Archeology and Natural History and its library at the disposal of the Francis Joseph University of Kolozsvár, against payment of a rent determined by contract. When the University was nationalized by the Roumanians, the Roumanian Government seized the collections of the Society for the Roumanian University, but refused to pay rent for the same in spite of repeated applications from the Presidency of the Museum. The collections have not been restored so far. (Complaint of the Museum Society to the Roumanian Government.)

At Máramarossziget a „Palace of Culture“ representing a value of 1,000.000 Crowns and containing a library, a museum and a lecture hall used to serve Hungarian culture. This was also seized and nationalized by the Roumanians for having the character of an Institution of the County, which latter belongs to Roumania.

The statutes of the Transylvanian Carpathian Society, which has been in existence for 30 years, and maintains a Transylvanian Ethnographical Museum, were not approved by the Home Secretary of State of Kolozsvár (under No. 35.628/1921) for not stating that tourists refuges are built by the Society on the Fogaras, Brassó and Radna etc. mountains. Prefect Dr. Metes sent an invitation to the Society on the 16-th of January 1922 under No. 722/921 to amalgamate with the „Fratia Munteana“ Society, a Roumanian touring club founded a year ago. The fact that the Roumanian Government does not interfere with the affairs of the Carpathian Society of the Saxons of Transylvania, is characteristic of the circumstances. („Ellenzék“ 3-rd February 1922.)

Over 30 years ago a Museum of Historical Relics of 1848 was established in Transylvania. On the 1-st of November 1921 the Burgomaster forced on the City of Kolozsvár, issued an edict according to which the relics of the Museum had to be stowed in the loft and upper gallery of a Textile Manufactory. („Ujság“ No. 3. Sept. 1921.)

3. Seizure or sequestration of scientific and literary collections.. .. .

4. Measures interfering with the work of Hungarian literary Societies

In its issue of the 25-th of December 1921 the „Temesvári Hírlap“ reported that the local „Arany János“ literary Society was unable to continue its work. The application for permission was rejected by the Prefect Dr. Cosma who demanded that the request should be repeated later. Mr. Dragalina, the Prefect rejected the renewed request, stating that it must be accompanied by two Roumanian specimens of the statutes. A further application was refused on the ground that the statutes must be filed not in two, but in three specimens. This was done accordingly. After this the Society was invited to submit the list of members. When the list was produced, a further refusal followed on the ground that Yougoslavians and Hungarians figured in the nomenclature among the other members. The list was then corrected, but was again sent back with the remark that it must be made out with the Christian names preceding the surnames, in Roumanian style. By the time this alteration was carried out, Dr. Dragalina lost his position. His successor was Dr. Nicolae Imbroane who received a delegation of the society and handed back the documents with the remark, that a new paragraph has to be inserted. This was done. After some long time the Burgomaster returned the whole parcel of documents stating that they required to be completed without mentioning however what kind of completion was desired. A further delegation sent out, was informed that the Burgomaster desired that the formalities of the admission of foreign members should be stated in the statutes. When this was done, the Burgomaster declared he would submit the documents to the Prefecture and that they would be transmitted to the Government as soon as the Prefect thought fit.

The Arad Literary and Artistic Society named after Kőlcsey the Poet, filed its statutes in the month of November 1921 for approval. In February 1922 an application was made to expedite matters to which the reply was received that the documents were lost. At a renewed application in the middle of April 1922 the papers were returned with the request that amongst others, an old minute book should be submitted. As many applications and enclosures will have to be prepared for the purpose and as it will be difficult to obtain a correct translation, it is quite certain that several applications will yet be rejected at long intervals. („Keleti Ujság“ 4-th May 1922.)

5. Suspension of the work of farming societies and seizure of their premises.

When the Roumanians took over the rule of the Country, the property of all farming Societies was seized and their work suspended by order. The central building and property of the Farming

Society of County Szolnokdoboka was seized by the Prefect Dr. Barbul on the 18-th of July (No. 350/920). After tedious appeals and discussions the property of this purely Hungarian Social Foundation with a spotless past of 45 years, was restored on the 16-th of January 1922 on condition that the language of Administration should be Hungarian and Roumanian in equal proportion that half of the members of the Board and Committee (15 m.) should be Roumanians and that the Vice Prefect and the Roumanian Agricultural Councillor should by virtue of their office be members of the Board of Administration. As Roumanians never joined the Society, for the reason that members naturally had to pay certain dues, the Prefect remedied matters by appointing a number of Roumanians to be members of the Board and of the Committee. In the face of this arbitrary measure, the Hungarian members of the Society expressed the desire that the appointed members of the same should also become ordinary members of the Society. (Gazette of the Farming Society of County Szolnok Doboka, dated the 20-th of January 1921. („Brassói Lapok“ 21-st January 1921.)

The premises of the Farming Society of County Bihar were requisitioned. The Farming Society of County Szatmár was forcibly nationilized by the Prefect, as a consequence of which measure it was dissolved. The Prefect then invited the Farmers to form a new Society, but no one followed the appeal. The Archives of the Farming Society of County Csik were seized by the Authorities.

The „Brassói Lapok“ dated the 7-th of May 1922 report as follows: The Field Labourers Union of County Udvarhely, formed after Saxon example, doomed to inactivity, struggles with a crisis. It seems as though in Roumanian official circles every move of the Hungarians, even if it purports purely a union consolidating the conditions of economical life, is regarded as an action against the interests of the State and the secret tendency is noticeable, to silence by constant dilatory clinging to the provisions of laws, every initiative and action of the Hungarians of Transylvania, only trying to secure their existence. This we must conclude amongst others from the fact that the Society of Siculian Farmers, formed for purely farming purposes is not allowed to start any action and this on the ground that the draft of minutes submitted to the Ministry a year ago has not yet been approved. In vain did the President of the Society refer to the law according to which a Society is allowed to start work, should the minutes not be returned after 40 days; the lower Authorities do not permit even the holding of meetings, although requests to this end were made by the President on five occasions.

Since 1883 the Hungarians of Transylvania possess a rich and flourishing Institution, the „Transylvanian Society of Hungarian Public Culture“ (EMKE). As soon as the Roumanians took over the Rule of the Country, the work of this Institution was stopped, its property and its public libraries seized. On the 22-nd of October 1919 an edict was issued by the Educational Department of the Ministry under No. 11.393. The Board of the Society applied to Mr. Goga, the Minister of Education requesting that the property of the Society should be restored and the continuation of the work permitted. Mr. Goga promised to look into the matter as he found the request of the EMKE justified. A year has passed since; the EMKE repeatedly renewed the application to the Roumanian Government but without result.

The EMKE owned a property et Algyógy, representing several millions of Lei, which was bequeathed by Count Kun Kocsárd, on condition that a Sicilian farmers school should be maintained on it. This property was taken possession of together with the school and nationalized by the Roumanians; all the other estates left to the Institution for educational purposes by charitable persons, were likewise seized by the Government. Among the establishments seized there are 19 public elementary schools, 257 public libraries containing in all 300.000 volumes. („Keleti Ujság“ 14-th. December 1921. „Ellenzék“ 15-th. December 1921.)

7. Suspension and seizure of Charitable and Humane Institutions and Societies.

At Sepsiszentgyörgy an Orphanage for boys, created out of contributions of the Hungarian public, of the Town Councils and of Banking Institutions many years ago, was placed under Roumanian Rule by the Prefect in 1921, and it was ordered that this Institution and all its property shall be handed over at Nagyszeben for the purposes of a War Orphan Society founded by a number of Roumanien Ladies. Reference was made to a law passed at Jassy, but not precisely described, according to which all orphans of Greater Roumania were under the protection of the Queen of Roumania, and all people disregarding this law were to be considered as committing lese-majesty. An appeal was made by the Hungarian Board against this measure, but the Prefect forbade its dispatch to Bucarest. (10-th February 1921.)

At Resicabánya the Day Home of the Lutheran Ladies Society was seized by the Primpretor, the society dissolved and its property sequestered. A further order directed the Lutheran preacher to take part in a Greek-Oriental procession. The Christian Girls Association

and the Christian Boy Scouts' Detachment were also dissolved or according to order No. 1929, left free to join the Bucarest scout organization. (February 1921.)

The Ladies Association of County Besztercenaszód was declared to be dissolved by the Prefect. Its property was seized for the benefit of a Ladies Club to be formed later. The Authorities seemed to be willing to allow the continuation of the work of the society, provided that Roumanians were allowed to play a leading part in the management.

At Kolozsvár the Students Mensa Academica was seized; this building was also private property and erected from public contribution.

The same thing happened with the Teachers' Home, erected by the teachers' „Eötvös“ fund.

The Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb and for the Blind were also taken possession of, although only the sites on which they were built, were Government property. (30-th September 1920.) The school of the Transylvanian Women's Trade Association, which had been in existence since 1882 with the assistance of the City Council and the Government, was seized by Prefect Metes and Mr. A. Domide, Superintendent of Trade schools, who referred to a ministerial edict, and at the same time dissolved the committee of the Women's Association, which maintained the establishment. Countess George Bethlen, the Vice-President, lodged a protest in the name of the Committee. („Keleti Ujság“ 8-th. November 1921.)

The Kolozsvár School of Music was discontinued by Government order and its equipment and collection of music seized.

8. Discontinuation of Musical Schools, Choirs and Athletic Clubs

The premises of the Hungarian Choir Association of 50 years standing were seized at Brassó. (30-th. September 1920.)

A prohibition was issued at Csikszereda against the Choir and Music Association formed 31 years ago. The Roumanian „Siguranta“ office, which dealt with this matter, referred to an order of the Art Superintendent, although the statutes of the Association had been submitted to the New Roumanian Ministry a year ago. („Keleti Ujság“ 2-nd February 1922.)

The old Arad Athletic Club was prohibited to continue its work by the Minister of the Interior, for the reason that he had not had time to study the statutes submitted to him several months ago. (Arad és Vidéke 18-th. February 1922.)

9. Seizure of Hungarian Social Clubs

At Beszterce the premises of the Hungarian Club Union under the name of „Circle of Beszterce“, were taken into possession by the Roumanians and admittance refused to the Hungarians who were its rightful owners. To seek a remedy for this state of things, a delegation of four members called on the Prefect of the County, pointing amongst others to the fact that the „Circle of Beszterce“ was a purely Hungarian foundation and its property of entirely private character, the result of contributions received from the Hungarian public of Beszterce. When the delegates suggested a peaceful solution of the affair, proposing that the Roumanian Social Club should purchase the premises of the Circle, the Prefect replied that the Roumanians hated the Hungarians and did not want a peaceful solution. It had been decided that the property of the Circle of Beszterce would be forcibly closed for the Hungarian intelligent class and this can no longer be remedied. Members of the delegation were: Mr. Domokos Kendeffy, President of the Law Courts in retirement, Judge of the High Court of Justice, Béla Noskó, R. Cath. Archpriest, Dr. János Kriza, member of the Board of Guardians and Dr. Aladár Benedek, Solicitor, who are at any time willing to testify the truthfulness of the above statements. (24-th July 1920.)

Chapter I of the Treaty for the protection of minorities, dated the 9-th of December, 1919.

Art. 8. All subjects to be equal before law and to enjoy the same civil and political rights: Differences in religion and faith not to interfere with the enjoyments of political rights, nor with appointments to public posts, offices or dignities.

VII.

Withdrawal of political rights of the Hungarian Minority.

1. The Transylvanian election law

The Transylvanian election law published with Royal edict No. 2621/1919 (see No. 103 of the „Monitorul Oficial“, dated the 26-th of August, 1919 provides as follows: „The right of election to be general, equal for all, direct, secret and with boroughs for electing units, and all male subjects over 21 years of age entitled to a vote. One member of Parliament is elected by constituencies of 50.000 inhabitants and or with a fraction over 30.000, and one Senator by constituencies of 100.000 inhabitants or by fractions over 60.000.

The Roumanian Official Gazette, the „Monitorul Oficial“, reports the following statistics in its issues of the 14-th of March 1922 (No. 280) 17-th of March 1922 (No. 283) and 19-th. of March 1922 (No. 285): *Number of voters figuring in the constituencies with a Roumanian population*: Lugos: 13.294; Facset: 12.201; Karánsebes: 12.361; Oravica: 12.214; Topánfalva: 12.980; Petrozsény: 10.630; Marosillye: 9532. Against these, the statistics for constituencies with a Hungarian majority are as follows: Temesvár: (where the census, taken under the control of the French General Gambetta, returned a total population of 71.800, of which only 6052 were Roumanians, 41.979 Hungarians and 20.342 Germans) 4758; Kolozsvár: (population 60.808 with 7562 Roumanians and 50.704 Hungarians) 5008; Arad: (population 61.166 with 10.270 Roumanians and 46.085 Hungarians) 3700; Marosvásárhely and district 2393; Csikszereda and district 4998. At Brassó, where the 17.831 Hungarians form a majority in comparison with 10.841 Germans and 11.786 Roumanians, only 74 Hungarian voters were included in the list.

In Senatorial constituencies with a Roumanian majority, the numbers of voters are as follows: Gyulafehérvár and district: 14.060 Beszterce and district: 16.277; Segesvár and district: 14.200; Csákova and district: 17.373; Ujvárad and district: 16.624; Oravica and district: 16.075. Against this in constituencies with a Hungarian majority, such as Temesvár and district, the number of voters is 3214; Kolozsvár and district: 2187; Nagykároly and district: 6026; Marosvásárhely and district: 6751; Arad and district: 2391.

The law a provides that the selection of candidates must take place 8 days at least before the election. The chairmen of the election interpreted this provision in such a manner that they only accepted the selection of candidates on the last day. To illustrate the methods adopted for the selection of candidates, we give an extract from „Le Progres“ a Roumanian daily, published in the French language, dated the 14 th. of March, 1922 (No. 893.)

Franchise of Nationalities in Roumania. Through the union of Transylvania with Roumania, nearly two millions of Hungarians have become Roumanian subjects. Two millions of subjects belonging to a foreign race, all respecting the laws and undoubtedly forming a separate nationality. New Roumania has never tried to conceal this

2. **Officially established proportion of voters in constituencies with a majority of Roumanians and Hungarians**

3. **Selection of Candidates in the third election campaign since 1919. All Hungarian candidates rejected with the exception of one.**

truth and the new provinces allotted to it bear the name of „Hungarian territories“ in the official list of new provinces.

The nationalities living on Roumanian territory are of course entitled to a share in the political life of the country. This is provided not only in the treaty accepted and signed by us, but is also commanded in the interest of national unity and internal peace.

The election policy of Mr. Bratianu has had the disastrous result that two millions of subjects are represented by only one member of Parliament: Dr. Bernády. This is the only man who was able to slip through all the electioneering trickery.

The land of the Siculians is in the heart of the Transylvanian plateau where the proportion of Roumanians is less than 10%, yet the Siculians were not allowed to delegate their representatives into Parliament.

To obtain this result, pretexts were required to be put forth, unworthy of a civilized country.

To understand this, it must be explained that according to Transylvanian law, Election Offices, — which otherwise ought to be under the control of voters delegated by the Administrative Authorities — are for formal principles entitled to confirm candidates. These Offices, controlled by Civil Servants, have now become a tool in the hands of the Government for eliminating such selections as the Government does not wish to accept.

Thus in a purely Hungarian constituency Count Béla Wass former Hungarian Lord Lieutenant, was so to speak unanimously selected for candidature by the voters. The Election Office, however, waited until the last minute with the confirmation and rejected the selection, briefly stating that the name of the candidate was democratically signed as „Béla Wass“, whereas he figured in the official election list as „Count Béla Wass“.

In a country and under a Government which does not acknowledge the titles of nobility the rejection of a candidate for the reason that he conformed himself to the spirit of the constitution, must be regarded as an enormity that can only happen under Mr. Bratianu's Cabinet.

The candidature of Baron Samu Jósika, President of the Hungarian Union, was rejected in a still more peculiar manner. It was reported by a Bucarest paper that a petition filed by the Baron had been rejected by the Government, after which his name was openly struck off the list by the Election Office, with the remark that his selection was rejected by the Government.

Baron Samu Jósika is an old man, respected and honoured by all. Formerly President of the Hungarian House of Lords, owner of the Grand Cross of Roumania, he was the first Member of the Hungarian nobility to swear fidelity to the King of Roumania on his arrival in Bucarest. In spite of this, by means of an absurde joke, the statement that a petition of his had been rejected by the Government, it was made impossible for him to solicit the support of his fellow citizens. Such reports are apt to make us clench our fists.

In the Zilah constituency the candidature of Mr. Imre Péchy was rejected by the President on the ground that the signatures of the voters who recommended him were written with two different kinds of ink.

At Kolozs a comedy was witnessed, most decidedly worthy of the cynism of its authors. Candidate Sándor Nagy was surrounded by the Gendarmes immediately on entering the town and kept under arrest till the time allowed for selecting candidates elapsed. He was released after two and a half hours of arrest and was surprised to see that people congratulated him from all sides and his election as Vice-President of the Election Office was made public. With all his energy he protested against this distinction and resigned from this post, but the resignation was not accepted. The explanation of this is, that the President and Vice-President are not eligible to Parliament, so that Sándor Nagy remained in his position, but was deprived of the possibility of being selected for election. It sounds like comic opera, but for the absence of Offenbach's music.

At Gyergyó, various pretexts have been inventend to the end that the election of Hungarian candidates (Mr. Kassai, Headmaster of the Grammar School, and Károly Takács, Reformed preacher should lose its validity. All scientific tricks proved, however, inadequate in the case of the candidature of Elemér Gyárfás, former Lord Lieutenant, and Joachim Görög, Canon of the Roman Catholic Church, so that more energetic measures had to be resorted to. The Central Election Committee of County Csik quietly struck the letter „G“ off the election list of Gyergyó. The corresponding decision was literally worded as follows: „The names beginning with the letter „G“ are declared to be invalid in the election list of Gyergyó and voters whose names begin with this letter are excluded from election“. They numbered eighty.

At Szatmár the candidature of Károly Kis was supported by 98 voters. Here the President of the Election Office, an official of the Board of Finance, invented a scheme involving 50 names, by wich

the number of the promoters was kept under the figure fixed by the law. How can such a result be obtained? Simply so that all „Alexanders“, who had written that name „Aleksander“, according to the spelling of the people, were struck off the list by the President. After that the Hungarian „Stephan“ s were deleted for not having used the Hungarian Christian name „István“, and, vice versa, all signatures using the name „István“ were deleted for not using the name „Stephan“. The whole people was thus put to ridicule by similar tricks of juggling. A shameful treatment indeed!

At Dicsőszentmárton even more violent measures were adopted. The selection of Béla Gvidó for a seat in Parliament and of Sándor Pekry for one in the Senate, was accepted by the Selection Office and their names registered with due formalities. Next day, however, the Prefect, who was not at all competent to deal with the matter, simply deleted both names, offering them to confirm their selection on condition that they join the Liberal Party in the Chamber. The offer was rejected by both candidates.

Such cases frequently occurred in all constituencies. Is it to be permitted, we ask, that a large portion of the country now called Roumania should be left without a representative in Parliament, when it would only be a question of doing away with party prejudice and of mitigating the hatred of the past?

At Csikszereda, the candidate Dr. Elemér Gyárfás was compelled to attach certificates to his selection form, proving that he was sane of mind, further that he was not the owner of a brothel, that he was not arrested, and, finally, that he was not under guardianship. Three selection forms of Dr. Elemér Gyárfás, provided with the documents thus required, were rejected within one day. The first form was rejected by President Ciurea with the remark: „It seems as though the streets and numbers were not written by the voters own hand“. The cause for which the second form was rejected is still more peculiar. Mr. Gyárfás produced proofs to the effect that in his capacity as a lecturer of the Commercial School, he had taken the oath, but he was not sworn in as a solicitor, as this was not his profession. The President declared that according tot a report of the „Siguranta“, he was not a solicitor *because* he refused to take the oath. The third form was rejected for the reason that the number of documents attached thereto was insufficient. After Dr. Gyárfás, two other Hungarian candidates were rejected at Csikszereda.

The final rejection of Mr. Elemér Gyárfás was however not engineered by President Ciurea, but by his successor. As Mr. Ciurea

could find no further cause for his rejection and seemed to be willing to confirm his selection, the Vice-President stepped forward and produced a telegraph from his pocket with the following remark:

„According to this telegraph the President is relieved from his duties.“ The new President was close at hand and the rejection finally carried out.

At Gyertyószentmiklós Joachim Görög, the Roman Catholic Canon, was also compelled to prove with documents that he was sane of mind, that he did not own a brothel, that he was not in gaol and not under guardianship. Finally the President declared that his name was not in the list. He then proved his title to vote, but the President replied that his name was put on the list by error, as the number of names starting with the letter „G“ was one to many, and that this superfluous name must needs be that of Canon Görög. Hereafter the selection form of Mr. Gáspár, President of the Trade Corporation, was handed in, but the President remarked that this name must also figure in the list of voters by error, since it begun with „G“. The list of Elemér Gyárfás was also submitted, but it was said that irrespective of the certificates attached, the investigations of the „Siguranta“ confirmed that he had no right to vote, as he had not taken the oath. The selection forms of Dr. Péterffy, solicitor, Mr. Elekes, a socialist candidate, and Dr. Prekup, candidate of the Roumanian National Party, were handed in by the Hungarian voters. All were rejected. One of the corresponding decisions objected that the certificate containing the legal place of residence of the candidate only bore the signatures of two members of the town council, instead of three. Here, too, the President of the Election Office was removed from his post. When no further objection could be raised, a Gentleman stopped forward saying:

„There is the telegram; the President is removed from his office, Mr. Dobrea is the new President.“ („Keleti Ujság“ 28 th February 1922.)

Such was the result of the elections of the Hungarians everywhere, causing them to refrain from selecting candidates at many places. The selection of the Hungarian candidate was only confirmed in one constituency, resulting in his election to Parliament.

After these preliminaries the candidates of the Government were declared to have been „unanimously“ elected in constituencies with a Hungarian majority.

Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities, dated the 9 th of December 1919.

Arts. 3., 4., 5. and 6.: The conditions of the maintenance of civil rights, of their acquisition and of option connected therewith are under the control of the League of Nations, and according to Art. I., all laws, regulations or official measures in contradiction with the same shall not be valid.

VIII.

Expulsion of Hungarian officials; forcible Roumanian naturalization of towns. Expatriation of the Hungarian population.

1. **About the attitude of Hungarian officials, their deportation (from a report of the American Unitarian Committee)**
 Extract from the report of the Rev. Sidney B. Snow, on the tour of investigation of the American Unitarian Committee, dated the 20-th October 1920.

The very first step, during the period of Roumanian occupation, was the repatriation into Hungary of all persons settled in Transylvania since 1913. The other measure — directed against Hungarian leading men — was the invitation addressed to persons occupying public positions of all descriptions, to swear allegiance to the King of Roumania. This was refused by most people, since in the months of January-February, 1913, the peace conference had not yet decided as to which country Transylvania was to belong to. This attitude of the officials was qualified by Prince Sturdza, as a resignation from the posts in question. He declared that an opportunity had been offered to Civil Servants to remain in their position, by only binding themselves by ordinary oath to fulfil their duties in a satisfactory manner. After close investigation we found that the Prince had been misinformed. The offer mentioned was received from a different source. It was the Hungarian Civil Servants who offered to swear such an oath,*)

*) „On the 15-th of January, 1919, a delegation consisting of Dr. Emil Grandpierre, President of the Law Courts, József Papp, Chief of Jurisdiction, Dr. Gáspár Menyhért, a University Professor, Dr. Jenő Kertész and Lajos Jordáki, representatives of the Social Democratic party, was deliberating for four hours with Dr. Gyula Maniu, the President of the Governing Council, requesting that no oath of fidelity should be exacted from Hungarian Civil Servants before the conclusion of peace, but that a solemn promise should be considered sufficient. This offer was not accepted by the Governing Council „for important political considerations“. No permission was given either, for a delegation to be sent to Budapest, in order to obtain absolution from the formal oath of fidelity, as had been suggested by Mr. Ernő Dániel, solicitor of Gyulafehérvár.

but Dr. Gyula Maniu, who was then the highest public personality in the country, refused to accept. The result, foreseen by the Roumanians, was an emigration movement on a large scale, followed, and even preceded, by the flooding of Transylvania with Roumanian officials hurriedly appointed. At Fogaras, for exemple — a place we reached in the month of June — the number of persons expelled in one way or another, was estimated at one thousand. By the time we arrived in Transylvania, the time of the first massed deporation had passed, but a systematic emigration continued under the pressure of the circumstances called forth by Roumanian rule. On the 8-th, of June we met a number of carts at Püspökfürdő carrying families who had fled from Torda and complained of having been compelled by oath, never to return to Transylvania any more.

We had an opportunity of witnessing a most touching case of expulsion while we were at Kolozsvár. The Roumanians had at the time seized an Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and for the Blind, maintained by private foundation. The Transylvanian inmates were sent to their houses, those born in Hungary — fifteen in number — given five kilos of bread each and carried by rail over the frontier in a cattle truck. A medical man, desirous of accompanying the children, was refused permission.

A considerable number of Roumanians flocked into Transylvania for various purposes. First came the families of Army Officers, then the new Civil Servants, Professors, Teacher, with their families, and finally tradesmen, for whom shops were requisitioned from Hungarians. (Report of the Rev. S. B. Snow.)

On the 6-th of December, 1919, after the conclusion of armistice at Belgrad (13-th of November, 1919), Dr. István Apáthy, a University Professor of Kolozsvár, was instructed by the Hungarian Council of Ministers, to conduct negotiations, purporting the carrying out of the Belgrad concordat, with the commander of the occupying forces, in his capacity as Chief Government Commissioner of Transylvania. The offices of the Chief Commissioner were accordingly set up at Kolozsvár, and assurances were received from Lieutenant Colonel Vyx trough Mr. Albert Bartha, the Minister of War, to the effect that Roumanian troops would not be allowed by the allied powers to cross the line of the river Maros, which had been made the line of demarcation by the Belgrade concordat.

2. The period from the conclusion of armistice at Belgrad (13-th of November 1918) until the forcing of Roumanian rule on Transylvania

According to Art. III. of the Belgrade concordat, the Allied troops were empowered to occupy a number of strategical points beyond the line of demarcation. On the strength of this provision, Kolozsvár was occupied by General Neculcea, of the Roumanian Army, on the 24-th of December 1918.

2/a. **The word of honour of the General Berthelot, of the French Army, and of General Neculcea, of the Roumanian Army, in connexion with the observance of the Armistice Concordat**

On the 31-st of December, 1919, General Berthelot of the French Army, Commander in Chief of the Eastern wing of the Balkan Army, of the Allies, passed through Kolozsvár. He was saluted by Mr. István Apáthy, the Chief Commissioner of the Hungarian Government, in the name of the Hungarians, and made the following statement: France will never tolerate that oppressed people, in so far as such can be spoken of here, should become oppressors. („La France ne tolérera jamais que les opprimés — à ce qu'on en dit — deviennent des oppresseurs.“) He also stated that the Treaty of Peace would in all respects be based on Wilsonian principles. Later, in his railway carriage, he had a conversation with Dr. Apáthy, lasting over 90 minutes, and declared unanimously with General Neculcea, both giving their words of honour, that the work of the Chief Commissioner would not be interfered with in any way, as they meant to strictly observe the provisions of the Armistice Concordat and that therefore the Roumanian Royal troops could not interfere with the administration of the country. General Neculcea declared with special stress that according to the Concordat, civil administration would remain in the hands of the Hungarian Government, even in occupied parts, that the various Roumanian National Councils would have no right to interfere with administration, and moreover that the Government Council of Nagyszeben would have no right to take over the rule in occupied districts. The definite principle of Generals Berthelot and Neculcea was, that Hungarian State property should remain in the possession of the Hungarian Government, despite the occupation of the country, and that Hungarian Government institutions could not be declared to be the property of Roumania. All tendencies to the contrary must be regarded as injurious and easily to be stopped. General Berthelot then took leave of Dr. Apáthy requesting him to telegraph to him (i. e. to the General) in case he should want his assistance. („Si vous avez besoin de moi, télégraphiez-moi et j'y serai“.)

Shortly after the departure of General Berthelot, however on the 8-th of Jany, 1919, General Neculcea, referring to an order of Commander in Chief, Mosoiu, refused to have official intercourse with Dr. Apáthy, [communication of Stephan Apáthy in „Új Magyar Szemle“ (New Hungarian Review) December, 1920.]

The Roumanian troops, breaking the Concordat of Armistice, then advanced towards West, invading still greater portions of the country. One day they posted a war ransom of 900,000 Crowns, payable by 20 persons of Kolozsvár for the reason that the Hungarian troops refused to withdraw from Czigányi (a town in County Szilágy), by order of Dr. Apáthy, the Chief Commissioner, on which occasion nine Roumanians fell in the struggle with the Hungarian soldiery. On the 15-th of January, 1919. István Apáthy, the Chief Commissioner, was arrested by the Roumanian Military Commander for alleged Bolshevistic machinations, and was placed before court martial, under charge of instigation against the Roumanian forces. The court martial was held at Nagyszeben, where he was sentenced to five years gaol, on the 22-nd of July, but ultimately discharged by the Military Supreme Court of Justice of Bucarest. After his discharge his internment followed immediately and he could only repatriate back in to dismembered Hungary, in the month of October, 1920.

After the departure of General Berthelot from Transylvania the Roumanians hurried to take over the rule of the country, so as to place the Peace Conference before accomplished facts, — in which they were succesful.

In the face of the Concordat of Armistice concluded at Belgrad, on the 13-th of November, 1918, a Roumaniau

2 b. Measures preparing Roumanien rule

3. Date and manner of the introduction of Roumanian Rule

Royal Edict appeared on the 11 th. of December, 1918, under No. 2671, according to which „Transylvania, the Banate and the parts of Hungary inhabited by Roumanians“ were declared to be united with Roumania for all times to come. At the same time another Royal Edict (No. 3632) was issued, transferring the administration of these territories to the „Consiliul Dirigent“ (Governing Council). The new Government appointed the Prefects of the Counties on the 14-th of January, 1919. By a decree No II. (§ 4), dated the 24-th of January, 1919, „the Legislative and Municipal representative bodies so far in existence were dissolved and the autonomy of Counties and towns suspended“. The new Prefect immediately discharged the Hungarian officials and had them removed by force, because, referring to the

Concordat of Armistice of Belgrade and Art. 45 of Chapter III. of the Hague Covenant, these Civil Servants refused to swear fidelity to Roumania.

3 a. Was it an oath of fidelity or only a solemn pledge that Roumania demanded from the Hungarian officials?

In the presence of the above facts, generally known in Roumania, and in reply to the complaints addressed to the Roumanian Government by the Council

of the League of Nations, the Government only made an official statement to the effect that in the case of refusal of the oath a binding declaration was demanded from the officials confirming that they would loyally continue to attend to their duties, and those who refused to make, this declaration left their posts and fled into Hungary.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the statement of the Roumanian Government we reproduce a facsimile of two edicts from the Roumanian Official Gazette (Gazeta Oficiala), No. 11, dated the 6 19 th of February, 1919, one of which reproduces an extract from the edict of the Ministry of Justice, No. 121/1919, and the other from the edict of the Ministry of Education, No. 931/1919, in which provisions are contained in connexion with the wording of the oath to be sworn, and the immediate discharge of Civil Servants refusing to be sworn in.

Translation of the Edicts: Department of Justice. Edict referring to Judges, Solicitors and Public Notaries. Based on Decree No. 1, dated the 1st of January, 1919. I herewith issue the following order: § 4. All organs of Justice (Judges, Solicitors, Attorneys, Public Notaries) shall renew their official oath after the following formula: „I swear by God the Almighty to be faithful to King Ferdinand I. and to the Roumanian State, to respect the laws of the country, the decrees and edicts of the Governing Council, to fulfil with honour, conscientiousness and impartiality the duties entrusted to me and to keep official secrets. So help me God.“ This formula to be used in all cases where laws of all description, regulations and orders make mention of oaths to be taken by the officials of Jurisdiction.

§ 7. All persons invited to take the oath (or the solemn pledge*) and refusing to be sworn in without delay, to lose their posts, and the Roumanian Government not to approve the payment of their pensions until the said Solicitors, Public Notaries and Probationers are qualified to fill such posts. Discharge from office, or prohibition to continue solicitors practice may take place without previous procedure, as soon as the refusal to take the oath is officially taken cognizance of.

The present order to come into operation on the day of its publication in the *Gazeta Oficiala*. No. 121 — Signed: Dr. Aurél Lázár, Chief of the Department of Justice.

* * *

*) The nature of the solemn pledge is described in § 5 of the edict: Those who declare that the oath is against their religious persuasion may make a solemn pledge instead. The formula of the latter differs from the oath in the use of the words: „I pledge my honour and conscience“, instead of reference to God. The last sentence of the oath to be left out.

GAZETA OFICIALĂ

PUBLICATĂ DE

CONSILIUL DIRIGENT AL TRANSILVANIEI, BANATULUI
 — ȘI PĂRȚILOR ROMÂNEȘTI DIN UNGARIA. —

Prețul abonamentului: pe un an 40 cor.,
 pe șase luni 20 coroane, pe trei luni
 10 coroane.

Un exemplar 50 bani.

Pentru publicații oficiale se va plăti o coroadă
 pentru primele zece cuvinte, iar pentru următoarele
 zece cuvinte, sau mai puțin de zece cuvinte, câte
 50 bani, plus timbru pentru chitanță și preț
 exemplarelor dorite.

Pentru publicații particulare se vor plăti
 câte 20 bani de fiecare centimetru pătrat la prima
 publicare, acordându-se la publicarea a doua o
 reducere de 10%, iar la publicarea a treia o
 reducere de 20%.

Redacția și administrația: Sibiu, Strada Cisnădiei Nr. 4, etajul II, ușa 116.

Résortul justiției.

Ordonanță

referitoare la judecătorii, avocați, notari publici.

Pe baza Decretului Nr. I. din 24 Ianuarie 1919
 n. ordonez următoarele:

§. 4.

Toate organele judiciare (magistrații, procurorii,
 avocații, notarii publici) au să depună un nou jura-
 mânt oficial, după textul următor:

«Jur pe atotțiutatorul Dumnezeu de a fi credin-
 cios Regelui Ferdinand I. și Statului Român, de a
 respecta cu sfințenie legile Țării și decretelor, ordon-
 nanțele Consiliului Dirigent, și de a îndeplini cu onoare,
 conștiință și nepărtinire funcțiunile ce îmi sunt în-
 credințate și a păstra secretul oficios. Așa să 'mi
 ajute Dumnezeu».

Acest text de jurământ se va aplica în toate
 cazurile, în cari se face amintire de jurământul func-
 ționarilor angajați la justiție, în legi, regulamente, sau
 ordonanțe de orice natură.

§. 7.

Acela, care provocat fiind nu va depune im-
 ediat jurământul (declarația solemnă), își pierde oficiul.
 Drepturile lui la pensiuine Statul Român nu le recu-
 noaște, iar avocatul, notarul public și experții nu
 vor mai putea funcționa în această calitate a lor.

Destituirea din oficiu, respective interdicțiunea
 de a exercita profesiunea de avocat o vom enunța-o
 fără orice procedură prealabilă, îndatăce vom avea
 cunoștință despre denegarea jurământului.

Ordonanța de față intră în vigoare cu data pu-
 blicării în «Gazeta Oficială».

Dr. Aurel Lazar,
 șeful résortului de justiție.

Nr. 121

Resortul cultelor și al instrucțiunii publice.

Notă circulară

*În chestiunea jurământului oficial al corpului didactic
 dela fostele școli de stat maghiare.*

Aduc la cunoștința membrilor corpului didactic
 dela școlile de toate gradele, cari au aparținut sta-
 tului unguresc și atârnav direct de ministerul de
 culte și instrucțiune publică din Budapeșta, că pot
 depune jurământul de fidelitate către Majestatea Sa
 Regele Ferdinand I al României și către Consiliul
 Dirigent Român, până în 15/28 Februarie a. c. Tex-
 tul jurământului este următorul: «Eu N. N. jur cre-
 dință Regelui Ferdinand I al României și Consiliului
 Dirigent, că 'voiui ținea legile și ordonanțele țării,
 mă voiui supune superiorilor, voiui împlini datorințele
 împreunate cu oficiul meu cu punctualitate și con-
 științioșitate, voiui purta grijă de binele țării și al
 cetățenilor și voiui păzi secretul oficial. Așa să-mi
 ajute Dumnezeu».

Toți aceia, cari vor face acest jurământ, se vor
 bucura de toate drepturile și beneficiile legale avute
 în cuprinsul statului unguresc.

Aceia însă, cari nu depun jurământul oficial, se
 consideră ca renunțați de bună voie la posturile

ocupate, pierzând orice drept la salar, beneficii, sau
 pensie față de statul român. Unii ca aceștia nu vor
 fi primiți în nici o funcțiune din cuprinsul României.

Despre depunerea ori refuzarea jurământului
 oficial se va lua proces verbal, care va fi iscălit per-
 sonal de cei autorizați și interesați.

Cei cari fac jurământul oficial, dar nu cunosc
 limba română, sunt obligați — în conformitate cu
 art. 9 din Decretul Nr. II al Consiliului Dirigent, —
 să-și însușească limba română în graiu și în scris în
 termen de 1 an

În consecință, invit pe domnii prefecti și re-
 vizi-zori școlari, să execute întocmai aceste măsuri, cu
 îndatorirea de a-mi înainta rapoarte informative, în-
 soțite de procesele verbale.

Sibiu, 3/16 Februarie 1919.

Vasilie Goldiș,

Nr. 931 șeful resortului de culte și instrucțiune publică.

Department of Religion and Public Education. Circular Note on the official oath of the Staff of Teachers of former Hungarian Government Schools. I hereby notify the members of the Teachers' Staff of all the schools formerly under the competence of the Minister of Religion and Education of the Hungarian Government, that they may swear fidelity to His Majesty King Ferdinand I. of Roumania, and to the Roumanian Governing Council, till the 15/58-th of February of this year. The formula of the oath is the following: „I“ (name of the person to be sworn in) do swear fidelity to the King Ferdinand I. of Roumania and to the Governing Council, to keep the laws and decrees of the country, to obey my superiors, to fulfil my duties punctually and concientiously, to take care of the property of the State and of its subjects and finally to keep official secrets. So help me God“.

All persons swearing this oath to enjoy all lawful rights and advantages which they enjoyed under Hungarian Rule. Those, however, refusing to be sworn in to be regarded as voluntarily relinquishing the posts hitherto occupied and to lose their title to remuneration by the Roumanian Government as well as to all advantages and pensions. Such persons shall not be appointed to any office within the frontiers of Roumania.

Officials regularly sworn in, but not speaking Roumanian, shall, — according to § 9 of Decree II. of the Governing Council, — be bound to acquire the knowledge of that language within one year, both in word and writing.

Sz. 9
1919

Nyilt rendelet.

Melynél fogva Gerő Kenczey nak meghagyatik, hogy f. évi 8 n reggeli 6 órakor ~~his~~ kézi községi közmunka napszámba e városbázanál megjelenni büntetés terhe alatti kötelmének ösmerje.

Hátszeg, 1919 évi 7

Mooster Hátzseg. 2161



No. 4.
1919.

Open Order.

According to which Dr. Gerő Kenczey is ordered under penalty to report himself at the Town Hall on the 8-th of October of this year, at 6 a. m., to work as a day labourer for the Municipal Council.

Hátszeg, 7-th October 1919.

Stamp of Police.

Signed: *Tocaci*, Captain of the Police.

Sz. 4
1920

Ordin deschis
Nyit rendelet.

Melynél fogva *Dr. Gerő Kenczey* nek meghagyatik, hogy f. évi March hó 5 n reggeli 6 órakor írás közti községi közmunka napszámba e városházánál megjelenni büntetés terhe alatti kötelmének ösmerje.

Hátszeg, 1920 évi March hó 4 n.

2161.

rendfőkapitány

No. 4.
1920.

Open Order.

According to which Dr. Gerő Kenczey is ordered under penalty to report himself at the Town Hall on the 5-th of March of this year at 6 a. m. for work as a day labourer for the Municipal Council.

Hátszeg, 4-th of March 1920.

Illegible signature: *Primar.*

In the open order reproduced here (Ordin deschis) Tocaciu, Prefect of the Police at Hátszeg, issues two orders to Dr. Gerő Kenczey, Medical Officer of the district (another official discharged from his post for having refused to renew his oath of fidelity before the conclusion of peace) to report at the Town Hall for day labour.

I, therefore, instruct the Prefects and School Superintendents to carry out these measures at once and to submit to me their comments together with the protocols drawn up in this connexion. Nagyszeben, 3/16-th of February, 1919, No. 931. Signed : Vasilie Goldis, Chief of the Department of Religion and Public Education.

In the month of March, 1919, Generals 4. **Terrorization of Hungarian Civil Servants**
Mosoiu and Panaitescu had a communication published in all Hungarian papers, according to which 11 chief officials were escorted out of the country, via Mármarosziget, on the 28-th, of March (Mr. Markos, Director of the State Railway, Mr. Dózsa, Departmental Manager, etc.) and were only allowed to take one piece of hand luggage with them.

In this connection the Roumanian Authorities ordered that the three months' advances paid by the Hungarian Government on the salaries should be refunded.

The Civil Servants accordingly reported themselves for day labour and work in factories and in different trades. Roumanian Authorities, however, ordered the various enterprises only to employ members of the Workmen's Insurance Fund, under the penalty of losing their trade licenses.

The Hungarian officials were registered as „persons without employment“, placed under permanent control, and ordered to report themselves daily before the Authorities. Many of them were imprisoned, put in gaol or interned and finally expelled from Roumania, irrespective of their place of birth and legal residence. This was called „repatriation“.

5. Civil Servants imprisoned or put in gaol and finally interned till they „volunteered“ to expatriate. . . .

At the beginning of 1910, at Gyulafehérvár, Ovidius Gritta, Captain of the Police, ordered the arrest of Dr. Francis Kratochvill, Vice-Burgomaster, of Dr. Győző Korinszky, Judge at the Court of Appeal and Vice-President of the Royal Courts of Law, and further of Mr. Ákos Bucsy, Receiver of Taxes, and Mr. Gyula Dobrowszky, Controller of Taxes, part of whom were natives of the city, but all of whom were born in Transylvania and owned some property in Gyulafehérvár. One evening he ordered the sergeant major of the Police to „give the Gentlemen 25 strokes with the stick“. The sergeant major took over the order, but did not have the men flogged, „because the Captain of the Police was drunk when he gave the order“. Two weeks after, he released the prisoners from the prison of the police and ordered them to report themselves every day, prohibiting them, however, to have intercourse with anyone. A few weeks after he again had them arrested and locked up in Nagyenyed Gaol. Here they spent two weeks, without being examined, then they were set at liberty. They had hardly returned to their families, when Mr. Gritta, Captain of that Police, again arrested them and transferred them to the Fort of Fogaras. After this their families were expelled from Gyulafehérvár and they were only released when they „voluntarily“ signed an application requesting their „repatriation“ with their families. During a period of six months these distinguished Civil Servants, all born in Transylvania, were tormented in various prisons and gaols and their families constantly vexed with ejection and expulsion. In spite of innumerable applications made by them, they were not examined, so that the reasons for which objections were raised against them, and for which they had to leave their native country against their will, is unknown to this day. (Protocol dated the 20 December 1919.)

In 1919, Mr. Endre Barabás completed his eighth year of service as Headmaster of the Teachers Training School at Déva. He was born in Transylvania and had been permanently filling the post of a

teacher and headmaster. On the 9-th of May, 1919, a Captain named Voina arrested him at Hódmezővásárhely, by order of the Governing Council. On the 10-th of May, 1919 he was sent to Orosháza, where Captain Coronel Savu Caused him and his 39 companions to be flogged, and they were given 50 to 100 strokes with a stick, in celebration of the great Roumanian National festival. The flogging was carried out by Roumanian Lieutenants and First Lieutenants. The victims, beaten till they bled, were laid down on the stage of the theatre and their tormentors enjoyed the sight of their quivering bodies, which in the meantime they had deprived of any garments that represented some value. Two days after, at two p. m., Mr. Barabás, the headmaster, was escorted to a farm on the outskirts of the town by six soldiers under the command of a Lieutenant, where his tomb was dug for two hours before his own eyes. Then he was put on a cart and taken by rail to Nagyszeben and handed over to the „Siguranța“. The „Siguranța“ ordered an investigation and at the same time gave telegraphic instructions for his house to be searched at Déva. The investigation was conducted by Ovidius Ivan, Vice Chief. Mr. Barabás was charged of having badly treated his Roumanian pupils. From the protocols and documents secured on the subject it was established that in his capacity as Ministerial Commissioner at the Roumanian Teachers Training School at Nagyszeben he received 179 Roumanian students for examination, of whom only eight had been compelled to repeat their forms. It was also found that at his school even the Hungarian boys had been taught the Roumanian language. In addition, he materially assisted several of his Roumanian pupils and provided one of them (Eugen Totoian) with all that he required, out of a public collection during twelve months, and sent his needy parents, unknown to himself, pecuniary assistance. The investigation was closed on the 11-th of June, 1919, and Mr. Barabás set at liberty the next day and allowed to travel home with the remark that through his humane attitude towards Roumanians he deserved a distinction from King Ferdinand.

On the 13-th of June, 1919, he arrived at Déva, where he had a family of six. At the time of his arrival there, his family had already been ejected from their quarters by Prefect Vasinca, and although two

6. Flogging of a Civil Servant born in the country, his imprisonment, his examination and interment, till he „voluntered“ to expatriate

of his children had 40 degrees of fever he found them in a little room assigned to them out of charity on the borders of the town, where his furniture of five rooms had been stowed in various places. The next day he was confined to his flat by order of „Siguranța“. On the 30-th of June he and 75 colleagues of his were expelled by virtue of order No. 1634 of the Prefect. On the 17-th of July the order of expulsion was repeated with the signature of Titu L. Avram, Chief of Police. At his request, the Educational Department of the Governing Council issued a legitimation paper on the 18-th of July, 1919, No. 7861—91, confirming that his discharge from office would only take place on the 31-st of August, until which time permission was given for him to seek a position in a Hungarian Institution. The expulsion order was not withdrawn, even on submission of certificates issued by the High Authorities, for the reason that he had not sworn allegiance. (This statement was made by V. Pana, School Superintendent, in his decision No. 1199, dated the 26-th of July, 1919, with reference to order No. 5188/919 of the Educational Department. The truth is, that Mr. Barabás was unable to swear allegiance, even if he had been willing to, as he was in prison pending in his examination.)

He was thereafter forbidden to leave his flat and the official documents necessary for the purchase of provisions were taken from his family. On the 5-th of August, 1919, he was escorted to Fogaras by the Police and imprisoned in the Fort, where 70—80 Hungarians were constantly kept under arrest.*) On the 5-th of September his wife received a further order of expulsion.

Althoug Mrs. Barabás had a large family, she left her home and called on several Roumanian solicitors and applied to the various Departments of the Governing Council of Nagyszeben trying to obtain the release of her husband. As a result of her efforts the Municipal Council of Déva suspended the expulsion order under No. 3088. (signed: Dr. Pocol, Primar) of the 18-th of September, 1919, pending the release of her husband. In the Home Department Councillor

*) At the time the following persons were kept under arrest besides Mr. Endre Barabás: Akos Butsy de Baratos Chief Councillor of the Treasury (Gyulafehérvár), Győző Korinszky Judge of the High Court of Justice (Gyulafehérvár), László Szalántzy de Szenttamás, Chief Engineer of Forestry (Gyulafehérvár), Dr. Ferencz Kratochwill Vice Burgomaster (Gyulafehérvár), Pál Daubraviczky Chief Accountant of the Municipality (Gyulafehérvár), Dr. József Kálmán Solicitor (Nagyszalonta), Rezső Faragó Journalist (Nagyszalonta), Dr. Brunó Halmos Solicitor (Petrozsény), Jenő Bunytay Banking Clerk (Lugos), Dr. Vince Nagy former Minister of the Interior (Szatmár), József Barabásy Chief Engineer of Forestry (Gyergyószentmiklós), Dr. Ágoston Kiss Solicitor (Gyergyószentmiklós), Gábor Bohár Professor at a Grammar School (Gyergyószentmiklós), István B. Szabó Hospital Warden (Déva), Dr. Béla Tódor Vice-Burgomaster (Gyergyószentmiklós), Aladár Simkó Editor (Nagykároly), József Stauber Editor

ROMÂNIA.
POLIȚIA DE STAT DEVA.

No. 669—919.

Provocare.

Întru executarea ordonanței Consiliului Dirigent Resortul
Înternelor No. 8272—919. sunteți somați, ca să părăsiți împre-
ună cu familia orașul Deva până la ziua de 20. Septembrie 1919.
incluzive. La caz contrar veți fi escortați fără considerare, că veți
putea sau nu duce bagaj. *Bilet de salutarie vet. pruni la*
seful poliției. —
Deva, la 5. Septembrie 1919.

Barabás Endre

Costescu
șef de poliție

Str. Cura Voda 19

2980. Tip. A. Hirsch, Deva.

Translation of the above Roumanian wording:

Roumania, Government Police, Déva 669/919. Order!

In execution of order No. 8279/1919, of the Home Department of the Governing Council, you are directed to leave Déva with your family by the 20-th of September, 1919, ortherwise you will be escorted out of the country, irrespective of whether you can take your luggage with you or not. A ticket will be placed at your disposal by the Police Chief of Déva, 5-th Sept. 1919.

Signed: *Costescu* Chief of Police.

Mrs. Endre Barabás, Déva, Str. Cura Voda 19.

(Arad), Lajos Máthé Reformed Teacher (Nagyszalonta), Andor Gergely Journalist (Nyíregyháza), Dr. József Vietorisz Headmaster of a Grammaischool (Nyíregyháza), eic.-Lieutenant Aurél Seracu of the Roumanian Army was the Commander of the interned and provided food for them in such a manner that he allowed those possessed of means to visit a certain restaurant; the others were provided for by Hungarian citizens of Fogaras, and so were the soldiers of the escort. There was hardly one person among those interned who knew the reason of his imprisonment varying from 1 to 3 months. in one case some of the interned were hitched to an ox cart and made to draw loads through the town. Those who paid 2—5—10—20—40—60 thousand Crowns to the hands of Lieutenant Seracu, or „volunteered“ to repatriate, were speedily released, so that the number of prisoners was constantly fluctuating. Lieutenant Seracu, who lived like a millionaire, must finally have perpetrated something serious, for one day he too, was escorted away by armed soldiers wid fixed bayonets.

riation" for the sake of his family and of his freedom, and was accordingly dismissed from prison for a period of two weeks, after he had signed a document in the presence of Councillor Bardosi stating that he would leave Roumania „for ever, of his own will“.

When he left prison, but before reaching his family, he received a further order from the Police at Déva, under No. 669, dated the 29-th of September, 1919. (signed: Costescu, Chief of Police), according to which he was to leave Déva with his family by the 5-th of October (See facsimile.)

On the 30-th of September the „Direcțiunea Siguranței Generale“ signed: Dr. Bianu, issued a legitimation according to which „Head-master Dr. Endre Barabás was under examination from the 13-th of May, 1919. till the 12-th of June, 1919. As however, no evidence of guilt could be established, the examination was discontinued“.

*Al. Barabás Endre a
fost eliberat din închisoare
pe motivul că avea na-
ționalitate de naturalizat,
dar el însuși nu era în
poziție să predea românește.
La depunerea juraților
dilecti nu a fost posibila
să se aștepte ca el să fie înmormântat
într-o cazășă, ci s-a hotărât
să-l lăsa să meargă în libertate.*

Sibiu, 1 Oct. 1919

Dr. Matei
Dr. inv. român



Translation of the above Roumanian wording:

Mr. Béla Barabás has been discharged from his office on account of the nationalization of the Teachers Training Institute and for not being in a position to teach in Roumanian. He was not summoned to take the oath and was directed to seek a position at one of the Hungarian Teachers Training Institutes.

Nagyszeben, 1-st of October. 1919. Seal.

Signed: Dr. Joan Matei, Chief of the Department for the Training of Teachers.

On the 1st of October, 1919. the Department for Public Education (signature: Dr. Ioan Mateiu, Dir. inv. primar) confirmed that Mr. Endre Barabás was discharged from office on account of the nationalisation of the Teachers' Training Institute at Déva and for not being in a position to teach in Roumanian. He was not required to take the oath, but directed to seek a position in a Hungarian Teachers' Training Institute. (See facsimile.)

Provided with these documents, Endre Barabás joined his family, but Prefect Vasinca, and Costescu Prefect of the Police, insisted on carrying out immediately the expulsion order. Hethen submitted an appeal to the Home Department, from whence, on the 7-th of October, 1919, under No. 15.192. the following communication was received: „Mr. Endre Barabás, Déva. As desired by you, we herewith state that no objection will be raised by the Home Department to your securing a suitable position in the territory under the control of the Governing Council“.

On the strength of this permit of the Ministry of the Interior the Municipal Council of Déva granted an adjournment of the expulsion, under Nr. 3703, dated the 17-th of October, 1919, (signature Dr. Pocol, Primar.) After renewed vexations and in response to another appeal, the Home Department (signature: Bardosi, Departmental Councillor, gave a telegraphic order, dated the 25-th of October, 1919, allowing Mr. Barabás to remain. Mr. Vasinca, the Prefect, and Mr. Costescu, the Prefect of the Police, however, did not take any notice of the order of the Home Department and insisted on immediate „expatriation“. They succeeded in carrying it out on the 17-th of November, 1919. when the family was packed in a cattle truck and directed towards the river Tisza which the „voluntarily“ expatriating Barabás family successfully crossed on the 27-th of November, after being thoroughly searched. Their whole underwear, including the last shirts of the children, and all the other pieces of clothing representing some value, were previously stolen at Arad. (Based on a protocol drawn up on the 5-th of December, 1919.)

7. Hungarian Civil Servants „repatriated“ under escort.

On the 25-th of October 1920 four policemen arrested Mr. Gábor Kemény, former Lord Lieutenant. He was taken to the quarters of the „Siguranta“ at Torda. Here, he was charged of having organized the officials not sworn in and having instigated them to strike(!) At the same time he was required to state the names of the Hungarian students

who had been singing patriotic songs. After two days arrest, he was set at liberty, but again arrested on the 4-th of November and locked into a cell with Lajos Egerházy, a Reformed Preacher, Dr. Ferenc Décsy, a Judge at the Court of Justice, and József Frenkel, a wholesale merchant, all of whom had been kept under arrest for some time. During the following two days other prisoners joined them: Ottó Groisz, farming superintendent, Géza Lőrinczy Professor, Samu Klein Chief clerk of the Law Courts, Dr. Várfalvy Solicitor, and Tamás Szabó former Assistant Notary. The latter started to work in the boot-making trade after his discharge. On the 7-th of November Mr. Kemény was dragged to Kolozsvár and imprisoned in the Fort; examination followed the same day by Dr. Bozác, of the Military Court. Mr. József Frenkel, wholesale merchant, was charged of being a „Comunist agitator“. The charge against Solicitor Várfalvy was that he kept up touch with Mr. Horthy and that he had taken over from him several millions for the purposes of Bolshevist propaganda at the house of a Mr. Halmi. The Reverend Egerházy, of the Reformed Church, and Mr. Groisz, Farming Superintendent, were charged of having brought into being certain „organizations hostile to the Roumanians“. Mr. Klein, a clerk, was accused of having instigated the staff of the Law Courts to refuse the oath, while Professor Lőrinczy and Justice Décsy, of the Law Courts, were alleged to have „served as spies“ between Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely. Lord Lieutenant Kemény was accused of having „grouped the officials not sworn in into one organization and kept up touch between the working classes and the landowners“.

Dr. Bozác, Judge of the Military Court, heard a number of witnesses till the 23-rd of November, and based on the evidence given by them, he made a proposal purporting the dismissal of the charges. On the strength of this proposal, General Petala decided the release of the accused, but at the same time ordered the expulsion of the Rev. Egerházy, of the Reformed Church, of Dr. Ferenc Décsy, Judge of the Law Courts, of Tamás Szabó, bootmaker and former notary, of Samu Klein, clerk, and of Gábor Kemény, former Lord Lieutenant. The Rev. Egerházy was however granted three days leave, to return to his home, in order to be able to effect the transfer of his ecclesiastical duties.

On the 30-th of November, Szabó, Klein and Kemény, accompanied by a number of tradespeople and railwaymen, who were also expelled (but not even examined) were taken to Nagyvárad, before the Court of the Military Zone, where Dr. Morar, Judge of that zone, took

over the expulsion order, but informed them of having the intention of making a counter proposal purporting an investigation into their cases. For two days he was deliberating with General Petala, who insisted on their expulsion without investigation. Hereupon, on the 2-nd of December, they were transferred to the deportation prison, where they met fourteen other „expelled“ Hungarians. On the 3-rd of December prisoners were taken to Szatmár, where they were packed on a waggon and taken to the frontier police of Óvár, by way of Vetés. At Óvár the escort was reprimanded by the Commander with these words: „Why did you not shoot these Hungarian dogs on the way?“ Here, too, they were locked into a barn, 5 metres long and two wide and made to husk maize. The commander entered the barn on one occasion and struck the faces of the prisoners standing nearest to him, so badly that blood was running from their mouths and noses.

In the evening of the 20-th. December 1920, the convoy was taken to the Hungarian line of demarcation, where they were relieved of all their „superfluous“ garments, valuables and of their money. The Captain of the Roumanian Gendarmerie handed over to each of them the letter of deportation (in which the cause of deportation was stated to be „the refusal of the oath“) and showed them the way to Csenger, the nearest Hungarian town. He then ordered them to go on unescorted, remarking that „whoever turns back, will die“. (Extract from a note book of Gábor Kemény, former Lord Lieutenant, Commissioner of County Torda-Aranyos.)

8. A scheme purporting Roumanian nationalisation of the towns of Transylvania.

Dr. Julius Maniu, the President of the Governing Council, made a statement at the second meeting of the Transylvania National Assembly, according to which the Roumanian nationalisation of Transylvania is to be considered the most urgent task for the future, with the absolute exclusion of autonomy and all other privileges. The nationalisation of the towns was thus regarded as a most urgent affair, since out of the 41 towns allotted to Roumania, only three small towns with 3—8000 inhabitants had a Roumanian majority. The scheme approved for the nationalisation of Kolozsvár was reported by No. 2. of 1919, of the „Glazul Libertati“, with details as to how it was intended to reduce the number of 43.000 Hungarians (out of a total population of 57.000) to 15.000 by the removal of Civil Servants in the very first place.

On the 15-th of July, 1919, edicts were issued under No. 8300/1919 on the organisation of the Repatriation Office, and under 8272/1919, dated the 29-th of July, on the registration of foreigners, providing that persons affected by these edicts shall state within eight days whether they wished to become Roumanian citizens. Those who did not state their decision to this effect, at the time of registration, or registered as „Hungarians“, were expelled by the authorities and treated as „foreigners“, till they applied for „repatriation“, and failing to do so, were flogged and beaten and interned, until they „volunteered“ to be expatriated.

9. Persons not considering themselves as Roumanian subjects in the month of July, 1919, treated as foreigners and expelled.. ..

The Housing Office of Nagyvárad issued an order, on the 4-th of September, 1919, (signed: Döme Mangra and Vilmos Cucor) requisitioning the flats of all the Civil Servants not sworn in. Attorney General Mangra made the following statement in the Nagyvárad Napló, dated the 7-th of September, 1919: „We must tear sentimentality out of our hearts; the persons interested must depart when the hour comes“.

10. Flats of officials not sworn in, seized; officials expelled.. ..

Dr. István Györfly, Professor of the University of Kolozsvár, received the following order from the Rector of the University:

11. The formalities of eviction.

Translation: Nö. 44/1919, Dr. *István Györfly*, Kolozsvár:

As you ceased to be a Professor of this University, on the 12-th of May, 1919 we herewith request you to leave and evacuate your private flat in the University as soon as possible, but at the latest on the 31-st of August, 1919, and to hand over the keys of same to the Stewards Office.

Kolozsvár, 1st. of June 1919. (Seal.)

Signed: The Superintendent of the Rectorate, Dr. Nicolae *Dragan*.

The transfer took place under this edict on the 31-st of August, 1919, at 11 a. m. The corresponding protocol was signed in the name of the University Stewards Office by E. Stoica.

On the 23-rd of October, John Boeriu, Commissioner of the Housing Office, and Danilo Szabó, Districtual Chief of the Police issued an order under No. 156/919 about „the expulsion of foreigners“. The persons expelled to leave within five days. No adjournement admitted, and only requests for the assignment of railway trucks allowed to be made.

The form of the orders was the following:

Government Commissary Kolozsvár, No. 2289/1919.

Mr. László Tokaji, Kolozsvár, Attila-út 10.

You are hereby directed to place your flat and office at my disposal and to leave the same the 30-th of this month, otherwise measures of eviction will be taken against you.

No appeal is admitted from this decision.

Kolozsvár, 29-th October 1919. (Seal.)

Signed: Dr. John *Boeriu*, Government Commissary.

It must be observed that Mr. László Tokaji had been a Director of the Transylvanian Farming Association for many years past (and was therefore not of the number of the officials who had refused to be sworn in). He lived in the building owned by the Association and was a native of Transylvania like all his ancestors.

This is how the Roumanians started action for removing the Hungarians from Transylvania. At Kolozsvár, Mr. Sándor Rosenberg de Gyalu was „thrown out“ of his own house. Mr. Nándor Hercz, a merchant, was also ejected from his house, and then expelled. Dr. Kálmán Batta, Financial Councillor, was ejected from two flats in succession, and then expelled. Dr. Alfred Haar and Dr. Gyula Hornyánsky, University Professors, were ejected by armed soldiers and then expelled from the country. Mr. Albert Gál, a landowner, was also made to move out of his own house, and so was the widow of Mr. Géza Szvacsina, the former Burgomaster of Kolozsvár. Mr. János Sólyom, a Professor, lived at Kolozsvár for 38 years and was ordered out of his own house with his four children. An order of expulsion followed. Dr. Antal Papp, General Director of Finance, was removed from his flat on three occasions, and at last found shelter in the basement of a house. He was also „repatriated“. Many other cases of the same description are on record.

In this manner nearly hundred thousand families of Transylvania were made to move to Hungary, of whom it is alleged by the Roumanian Government that they „volunteered“ to repatriate.

**12. Statement of the „Dacia“,
of Bucarest, on the execu-
tion of the ejections.. ..**

The Kolozsvár correspondent of the „Dacia“, of Bucarest, reports as follows under date of the 1st of May, 1920 (Extract from „Az Ujság“, of the 6-th May, 1920): „It is praiseworthy, nay, necessary, that Transylvanian political leaders should continue in their endeavours to give the Transylvanian towns a Roumanian appearance.

We see that this tendency is legitimate to some extent, but only to a certain extent, we repeat. I have been staying here now for several months and have witnessed some extremely painful cases of flat requisitioning. I have seen pieces of furniture and parcels thrown into the street in rainy weather, by order of the Government Commissioner on Housing. On Friday (April 23 rd). I was witness to a scene, unparalleled by all others. The owner of one of the shops in the Main Square, Sándor Ábrahám, was seized by a fit of madness, on having received an order from the Housing Commission to evacuate his shop within 24 hours and to hand over the keys to John Popa, who was not satisfied with the premises he rented in the central district of the town, and who, by means of money succeeded in obtaining the requisition of Ábrahám's shop. Ábrahám became severely ill and was taken to a Hospital for Nervous Diseases. His premises were, however, evacuated by force, as was the desire of John Popa. As a result of the sad plight of the unfortunate man Ábrahám, about 150 leading merchants called on Dr. John Suciú, the President of the Liquidation Committee, requesting that an investigation should be made into the matter and that measures should be taken against such requisitions by surprise. Mr. Suciú, however, — and no one knows for what reason — refused to be interviewed on the subject, so that they were unable to make a complaint, and this is why we demand that an investigation shall be made from Bucarest, so that we may not become barbarians and soil our national dignity with dirt before the eyes of strangers."

Dr. John Suciú, President of the Liquidation Committee, tried to motivate the terroristic expatriation of Hungarians, by stating that about 400 Roumanian Civil

13. An attempt at justifying the removal of Hungarians by the settlement of new Roumanian Civil Servants.

Servants were without shelter in Kolozsvár. In reply to this statement, the "Ujság", of Kolozsvár, dated the 5-th of June, 1920, communicates the following severely censured article:

"The Housing Committee has shown much courtesy to Roumanian Civil Servants. Newcomers have been assigned flats comprising 8—10 rooms at the time of the greatest shortage of habitations, while the so called "old" inhabitants are crammed into emergency dwellings of 1—2 rooms. Let these flats be inspected and it will be found that by justly and honestly distributing the flats of the officials newly arrived, enough can be requisitioned to shelter not 400, but 500 to 600 Civil Servants". The paper was of course forbidden to

make mention of the sumptuous flats requisitioned for the newly settled employees of Roumanian Banks, for the numerous tradespeople and merchants, for fortune hunters and for the Ladies accompanying the officers of the Roumanian army. Later, on the 24-th, of September,



Railway truck dwellers at one of the stations of Budapest in the month of March 1920. In such trucks Hungarian refugees lived for several years. These were registered by the Roumanian Government as having „volunteered to expatriate„ after having been removed by force from their native Country. In the above picture the wife of Mr. Gy. O., Royal District Judge, is seen, preparing lunch for the family.

1921. („5 o' clock News“ of Kolozsvár) Aurel Tamás, Secretary of the Housing Office, declared that many flats of 4—5 rooms had been requisitioned for Roumanian officers, of which only 1—2 rooms were furnished, while „mice were dancing“ in the others.

In the period between 1919—1920, 14. „Repatriation Trains“ that is during three years, the exports of Roumania into Hungary only consisted of Hungarians who were natives of Transylvania. Only „repatratriation trains“ left in the direction of Hungary, (on some days, even several of them), which were „thoroughly“ searched by the officers at Nagyvárad or Arad, lest passengers take money, valuables or letters with them, after which the trains run over the line of demarcation. These families remained without shelter for several months, and even for years, and led a miserable life at



Interior of a railway truck inhabited in January 1920 by the family of Mr. R. J. Professor of the Grammar High School of Kolozsvár removed from his post, who volunteered to repatriate“. For nearly two years this family was obliged to live in a railway truck on a siding of one of the railway stations in Budapest, like many thousands of others who shared their lot. The mother of the children is sick in bed, nursed by her little children, while their father looks after the daily bread.

the Hungarian railway stations under the name of „railway truck dwellers“.

The „Ujság“ of Kolozsvár, dated the 2-nd of July, 1920. reports as follows:

„The great majority of the persons „expatriating“ only leave their native Country because they have been deprived of the basis of their existence. The officials removed from their posts were not allowed to seek positions elsewhere. Famine is a tyrant and commands inexorably that children must be fed, no matter what happens. In addition, these people were ejected from their houses and as they had no situations there was no other way for them but flight.

In this manner the „repatriation trains“ deprived 200.000 persons repatriated from Transylvania (a figure officially confirmed by the Roumanian Authorities) of the possibility of taking advantage of the right of option granted by Articles 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Treaty concluded with Roumania on the 9-th of December 1919. in Paris for the Protection of Minorities, under the control of the League of Nations as mentioned in Art. 12 of the Treaty“.

15. What will be done with the persons expatriated by force?

This question is raised by the „Ellenzék“ of Kolozsvár in its issue of the 19-th of March 1922 under the heading „Citizens hanging in the air“.

The article in question runs as follows:

„Such citizens are existing nowadays. These are people from under whose feet the ground was literally torn away, not only in one country but in two: in Roumania and in Hungary at the same time. Whom no country wants to recognize as subjects but who are forced to wander about homeless and seek a plot of land somewhere.

The Trianon Peace Treaty provides that from the date of the ratification of the Peace, persons legally residing in the territories detached from the mother country, may choose between Roumanian and Hungarian citizenship. Within one year they have the right to declare that they wish to remain Hungarian subjects or, — using the official term, — they have a right of option in favour of Hungarian citizenship.

In Transylvania, however, the delay thus fixed (i. e. the date of ratification) was not respected and John Boeriu the then Government Commissioner arbitrarily caused many thousands of Hungarian families to expatriate into Hungary. Later on, the Hungarians commenced expatriating without compulsion.

Among the refugees there were many, who returned to Transylvania and took up their old existence there. There were University students, who after passing their last examination had to apply for repatriation into Transylvania in order to secure their diploma and are now occupying various positions.

These were given permits of sojourn by the „Siguranta“ as Hungarian subjects, on the strength of their Hungarian passports. Their passports had, in the meantime, lost their validity, but the Hungarian Embassy in Bucarest refuses to make out new passports for them, arguing that they are not to be considered as Hungarian subjects, and further that the right of option in connection with citizenship could only come into being at the moment of the ratification of the Peace

Treaty, so that repatriation prior to this moment is not legally equal to option in favour of Hungarian citizenship.

Against this, the Roumanian Home Secretary is of the opinion that there is a possibility of relinquishing rights, coming into existence at a moment, later than the actual time of relinquishment and that, therefore, the individuals in question are to be regarded as Hungarian subjects.

While this exchange of views is going on, these people are therefore in the most painful uncertainty about their future position.

Dr. Eugene Bianu, Chief Inspector of the Transylvanian „Siguranca“ offices also made a statement in the „Keleti Ujság“ dated the 15-th of September, 1921, on the return of the persons repatriated by force: „It will not be possible for a long time yet to settle the question of the return of the persons repatriated“ he says. When they left and the Country repatriated, they waived their rights connected with Roumanian citizenship and signed (or more correctly „were made to sign“) a declaration of departure, and have therefore become Hungarian subjects according to the Peace Treaty. And citizenship cannot be changed whenever required.

Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities dated the 9-th of December 1919:

Art. 2. Roumania guarantees full protection of life and freedom to all subjects of the Country.

IX.

Political lawsuits and atrocities.

The Roumanian paper „Socialismul“ of Bucarest (6-th January, 1920) reports as follows: „The 800 Hungarians interned ad Constanța are treated in a horrible manner. Men, women and children are crammed together in a few sheds and warehouses. They live in a state of undescrivable misery. The severe cold, the misery, the want of foodstuffs and the dirt causes typhoid fever and ague to spread among them. Every day they are taken by groups of tens to the hospitals which are just as miserable as the Camp itself and where they lie about quivering with pain in cold rooms, without any assistance. These unfortunate people have been brought into Roumania as hostages by the Roumanian Army. They are mostly women, children and peace-loving men. The Rouma-

1. 800 Hungarians interned in the Constanța camp ..

nian Army has long since left Hungary, so that there is absolutely no reason why these unfortunate people should further be tormented and made to suffer in this Country. The Government ought to see that this inhuman state of things is made an end to as soon as possible, pending their repatriation. There are other camps besides the one at Constanța where the position of the interned is just as cruel and against which we raise our protesting voice in the name of Humanity."

2. The number of people under arrest for various terms for political offences, amounts to 182 in one Roumanian prison alone.

In the „Aurora“ of Bucarest dated the 30-th October, 1921, Dr. Lupu, a radical member of Parliament, communicates the following statistics on the number

of Transylvanian prisoners under arrest in one Roumanian prison alone (Jilava): 32 prisoners were under arrest pending trial for terms from 6—12 months, during the period between the 1st of September 1920 and the 1st of September 1921. Released without verdict after similar periods of arrest: 36. On the 30-th of October 1921, 114 prisoners were still in this prison („Dacia“ 31-st October, 1921).

2/a. Terms of „preparatory“ arrest, lasting several years.

The „Adeverul“ of Bucarest reports as follows: „The Minister of Justice has

sent an order to all Public Prosecutors exhorting them to better respect individual freedom than they have done hitherto and further not to keep persons arrested under preparatory arrest so long. This order is very beneficial and it is most desirable that it should be observed.

Among the persons under „preparatory“ arrest some are kept under lock and key by the examining magistrates so long that their hair turns grey by the time they are put on trial. Judges contract marriage, are promoted in rank and become Presidents of the Courts or Judges of the Supreme Court and the poor prisoners are still kept under „preparatory“ arrest. We ought to know at least what personal freedom means and not to treat this natural right in such a careless manner.“ („Brassói Lapok“, 30-th September, 1921.)

3. The first Hungarian „revolt“ at Etéd.

Roumanian Authorities were most inventive in discovering „Conspiracies“

and „revolts“ to justify the terrorization of the Hungarians of Transylvania. The first Hungarian „revolt“ consisted of the following facts: In the month of March 1919, during the so-called national fair held

at Etéd (County Udvarhely) two quarrelsome Roumanian Gendarmes had a fierce argument with some farmers who had come to town from the country. A keen fight followed and ended with the regrettable result that two Gendarmes were left dead in the market square. This was qualified as a „revolt“ by the Roumanian Authorities and accordingly a detachment of soliders was sent from Udvarhely to suppress the. The soliders drew up in fighting line against the terror stricken village of „Etéd“. When they invaded the place, they shot every man they met on their way and even wounded a lady. Men who formerly served in the Army were arrested together with several old men and women and dragged to Nagyenyed by way of Székelykeresztur. On the way, at Székelykeresztur, a Mrs. Gyárfás a noble hearted lady, seeing that one of the women was pregnant, requested the commander to spare at least this woman and not to leave her in the cold and dirt, which charitable request was refused with the words: „Hungarian children are no longer wanted.“

Persons suspected of murder were tied to a waggon and dragged through several villages till there was flesh on their bones and till they showed signs of life. In connection with this „revolt“ 30—40 men and women were dragged away from each of the neighbouring villages (Parajd, Korond, Sófálva, Sóvárad, Szováta etc.) These were suffering in the various prisoners camps (Fogaras, Nagyszeben, Szombatfalva etc.) treated in an inhuman manner, without knowing what they were charged with. Many of them were simply shot dead, others beaten and tortured till they became cripples, starved out and forbidden the most elementary rules of cleanliness till they were full of vermin. In the Nagyszeben camp there were many „interned“ Hungarians whose bodies were so badly eaten by „Roumanian vermin“ that their ribs began to be visible and not even the local Ladies Society could help them in their sad position. The 8 „wounded“ men, who were transferred to the County Hospital at Déva in the month of April 1919 that they might die there, were of the number of the prisoners above referred to. Their bodies were so badly beaten that they had no more muscles on the pelvis and the bones were laid bare. When the Superintendent of the Hospital Mr. B. István Szabó saw these unfortunate people, he could not refrain from expressing his indignation, whereupon he was court-martialled, interned at Fogaras and finally compelled to repatriate „voluntarily“.

Of the „rebels“ who remained alive, the Court Martial passed death sentences under date of the 27-th of June 1919 on the following: Lajos Piroska of Atyha, Dénes Elekes of Kecsetkisfalu, Károly György

of Atyha, Dániel Jakab of Szolokma, János Moldován of Kűsmöd, István Szép of Atyha. Sentences of forced labour for life were passed on: Dénes Somody, Mózes Major and Miklós Hanzig of Etéd. Ten years of forced labour: Márton Vass of Atyha, József Kovács of Bölön. Five years of forced labour: Zsiga Jakab of Szolokma and Dénes Mózes of Bözöd. Many of them were set at liberty, broken down in body and mind, seriously impaired in health and rendered unable to work for their whole life. („Világ“, December 1919, No. 11 and „Renasterea Romana“ 27-th June 1919.)

4. 52 Hungarian working men condemned to 1—10 years of hard labour in the salt mines at Ocnamare

The charge against these workmen was that they went on strike in 1920 on account of the reduction of wages and of bad treatment. They were brought

before the Court-Martial and accused of Bolshevism and of having been incited by Hungarian irredentists against the safety of Roumania. („Aurora“ 4-th December 1921.)

5. The Hungarian intelligent class of Transylvania tried for spying and conspiracy.

Since the rule of Transylvania has been taken over by Roumania the following political trials worthy of note have

taken place in that Country, the members of the Hungarian intelligent class being involved.

a) In 1919 István Apáthy, University Professor and former Hungarian Government Commissioner of Transylvania was put on trial for Bolshevism and violent action, planned and carried out against the safety of Roumania. The Court Martial was held at Nagyszeben under the Presidency of Colonel Moruzzi. As a principal charge it was alleged that at the beginning of January 1919, Hungarians instigated by Mr. Apáthy attacked Roumanian soldiers, of whom 9 fell in the fight. For these 9 soldiers General Neculcea of the Roumanian Army posted a kind of ransom amounting to 900.000 Crowns, payable by Mr. Apáthy and 20 companions and the amount was collected within 48 hours. The military court unanimously dismissed Apáthy of this charge, without, however, ordering that the 900.000 Crowns should be refunded. The other more serious charge against Mr. Apáthy was that he spread instigating pamphlets, committing lese-majesty. Under this charge he was sentenced to five years goal on the 22-nd of July, 1919, but discharged and set at liberty by the Military Supreme Court of Justice. In spite of this, the Civil Authorities kept him interned till he „repatriated“.

b) The Hungarian Staff-officers of Nagyvárad: Colonels Cserey and Csécsy and some comrades of theirs were put on trial for planning a conspiracy of irredentists.

c) At Temesvár the so-called „Levente-pör“ (Trial of Knight) took place in which young Hungarian officers and students were accused of having conspired to the end of making an armed attack against the safety of Roumania in common understanding with various organs of the Hungarian Army.

d) The pupils of the Roman Catholic Grammar School of Arad were put on trial under a charge of irredentist conspiracy. 82 young men were involved in all, boys of from 17 to 18 years with the exception of two. Of these, two were sentenced to two years, one to 18 months, two to one year and one to 3 months. The others were discharged. The condemned pupils were also acquitted by the Supreme Court of Justice of Bucarest on the 16-th of November, 1921.

e) A trial was held at Nagyszeben, several inhabitants of Temesvár and Arad being involved under a suspicion of conspiracy. In the course of this trial, first Lieutenant Noszek, formerly of the Hungarian Army and 8 companions of his were charged with espionage and conspiracy against the safety of the Country. The Military Court sentenced the principal defendant Lieutenant Noszek to 8 years of goal and the others to 5—7 years. Only one of the defendants was discharged.

f) A trial for conspiracy took place at Kolozsvár before the VI-th Military Court (the so-called Marosvásárhely conspiracy) under the Presidency of Colonel Radulescu at the end of April 1922. Defendants were: John Molnár, teacher; Géza Rédiger, Unitarian preacher; András Biró Reformed preacher; Károly Imets, R. Cath. clergyman (Superior of the Convent of, the Franciscan Order); Jakab Kun, merchant; Jenő Schronk, nominee for professorship, all natives of Marosvásárhely, and László Brunhuber, landowner of Szászrégen, who was arrested in February 1911 under a charge of conspiracy and an attempt at the safety of Roumania. The charge against these people was concocted by an individual named Georgiu, the Vice-Chief of the „Siguranta“ of Kolozsvár, by his successor Aurel Cosma, both of whom have since been charged with extortion and embezzlement and fled to America, and by George Bala, a Roumanian spy and agent-provocateur. In the course of the investigation it was established that the merchant Jakab Kun, intending to go to Budapest, obtained certificates from three clergymen to prove that he was a Christian, although he looked like a Jew and his name was Jacob. When he was arrested, an error was found in his passport in consequence of which he was charged with

having crossed the frontier against prohibition. Letters were also found in his possession. In one of these, a young man engaged to be married, communicates with his fiancée, the other was addressed to a man Brunhuber and contained, amongst others, some information for a person named Károly Imets. A third letter written by Jenő Schronk on the misery of discharged Hungarian Civil Servants. (At this date there existed no letterpost service between Hungary and Roumania.) At the quarters of the „Siguranta“, Jakab Kun was beaten for five days. Károly Imets, a Roman Catholic clergyman, was forced to make a confession by means of the most terrible tortures and both had to sign a false protocole. The accused were dismissed by the Military Court of the charge of conspiracy concocted by the „Siguranta“ and set at liberty after nearly one year's imprisonment. Jakab Kun was the only one condemned for having crossed the frontier against prohibition.

g) At Kézdivásárhely a great „Conspiracy“ was revealed by the „Siguranta“ in 1930. Some rusty arms were found buried in the cemetery. All members of the Hungarian intelligent class were hereupon arrested. As there were, however, not sufficient cells available in the prison to hold several hundreds of people, since the prisons were over full of previously arrested „Conspirators“, the „most dangerous“ thirty three were selected from among them, but as this number still proved to be excessive, only seven were taken to Szombatfalva to the prisoners' camp. Among these persons were Dr. Andor Török, former Vice-Prefect and Dr. János Dávid, Chief Medical Officer, who suffered in prison for ten weeks. Besides these, twenty six „conspiring“ Doctors, Solicitors, Judges, Civil Servants, Merchants and Ladies were interned locally. When, after some long time, this Conspiracy plot came to be tried by the Military Court, the whole „Conspiracy“ was reduced to the fact that in 1918 during the revolution a number of young men buried the arms in question in the cemetery and later failed to report to the Roumanian Authorities. The charge of „Conspiracy“ was simply smiled at by the Military Court which discharged the accused, while two persons directly interested in the case were condemned to 1—2 months of prison. (Censured number of „Keleti Ujság“ dated 4-th July 1920.)

h) At Zilah also, a „Conspiracy“ was discovered and ten persons suspected arrested by the „Siguranta“. Among these were János Urházy, a merchant, Ferenc Sztankovics, a confectioner and Jolán Seress, a typist. The trial took place at Kolozsvár before the Military Court under the Presidency of Judge Colonel Radulescu, as a result of

which seven persons arrested under the charge of „Conspiracy“, were discharged and set at liberty after a painful term of imprisonment of over one year. („Ujság“, 17-th March, 1922.)

In the month of February 1921 at Szatmár, Nagybánya, Kolozsvár, Brassó, Máramarossziget, many members of the Hungarian intelligent class were arrested

6. The great trial of Conspiracy and espionage held at Kolozsvár, as an object lesson for all political trials

by the political police. The number of the arrested amounted to 70, consisting of Clergymen, Professors, Civil Servants and former Officers. The charge against these was, that they made a Conspiracy in connection with a Budapest organisation of espionage of the Hungarian Army, purporting the organisation of an armed rebellion, should the Russian Bolshevik Army attack Roumania on the Bessarabian frontier in the spring of 1921, in which case the Hungarians of Transylvania assisted by the Hungarian Army and adequately armed, were to attack the rear of the Roumanian Army kept busy in Bessarabia.

Some of the accused namely Tamás, Petres and Kölcze were also charged with having participated in a bomb outrage, as a result of which two members of the Bucarest Senate lost their lives and several others were severely wounded.

The final hearing took place on the 17-th of September 1921, after several adjournments. It came to light from the confessions of the accused, what machinations were resorted to not only in this trial but in all similar political trials, who were the parties „pulling the strings“ and by what means and to what political purposes the trials were enacted.

At the hearing just mentioned it was also found that two of the accused, named Fehérvári and Hanig were secret

7. The spies of the Roumanian political police as „agents provocateurs“

agents of the Roumanian political police and tried to induce the majority of the prisoners to give compromising evidence. In the course of the trial, these agents provocateurs became witnesses for the Crown.

Fehérvári was discharged and released later. He went from Kolozsvár to Vienna and from thence to Kassa in order to continue working as a spy. („Kassai Ujság“ 20-th of January, 1922.) According to a statement he made at Kassa he reported for spy service at the Hungarian Embassy where he declared having organised the whole conspiracy and having handed a written confession to this effect to his solicitor.

8. Prisoners cruelly beaten at the quarters of the political police, inhumanly tortured in order to make confessions

The investigation in connection with the above trial also brought to light that some of the prisoners who were suspected of having served as Couriers and secret agents and kept up touch with the information department of the Hungarian Army, or with some other Hungarian social organisation suspected of irredentist tendencies, were inhumanly tortured by which means it was hoped that they would give evidence compromising the leaders of the Hungarians of Transylvania. The Chief defendant András Tamás, student of the Polytechnic Institute was also tortured in this manner and even after the names of the authors of the outrage in the Roumanian Senate had become publicly known it was tried to obtain confession from him to the effect that by direction of the information department of the Hungarian Army, he had been one of the originators of the outrage the same as Kölczé and Petres, who were arrested at Brassó.

Not only in this trial but in the course of the final hearings of all trials, evidence was received to the effect that the political police used flogging and inhuman torture to obtain any confession required of the accused.

9. At the Court of Appeal only seven out of 56 defendants could be condemned, from which it is obvious that 49 had been imprisoned innocently ..

The trial before the Court of Appeal was held on the 16-th of March. In the course of the hearing prior to this date 45 defendants were discharged out of a total number of 56 and 11 sentenced to forced labour. The Court of Appeal, however, only sentenced seven of these to terms of from 5 to 10 years of hard labour and acquitted four. („Ellenzék“ 18-th of March, 1922.)

10. A warrant of arrest issued against St. Anthony and 26 of his arrested Companions

According to an old custom in the autumn of 1921 a collection was started at Nagybánya among the charitable Hungarians of the town in consideration of the Christmas holidays approaching. The collection list was opened by János Csáky, a Roman Catholic curate, who subscribed 5000 Lei from the „purse of St. Anthony“ thus: „St. Anthony ... 5000 Lei“. This item was followed by 26 other contributors with smaller amounts. The „Siguranta“ having taken cognizance of the collection seized the list and arrested the subscribers. A charge of „Conspiracy“ was soon formed: „The Hungarians have started a collection for an elaborate Hungarian flag“

— thus ran the indictment — „with which they intend to receive Miklós Horthy when he makes his entrance“. Accordingly, the 26 „Conspirators“ were escorted to Szatmár. After their arrival the Gendarmes forming part of the escort were required by the „Siguranta“ to make charitable „St. Anthony“ step forward. The poor men apologized for not having been able to arrest him. „I will arrest him then“ exclaimed the Chief of the „Siguranta“ — „and shall see that he gets 25 strokes, that will make him see red, white green all his life“. He immediately telephoned to Nagybánya inquiring about St. Anthony. The Nagybánya police replied that they were unable to take him in to custody and hought that the fled in the direction of the Hungarian frontier. A warrant of arrest was hereupon sent by the Chief of the „Siguranta“ to all stations along the frontier: „I herewith order the arrest of St. Anthony, wealthy citizen of Nagybánya, suspected of conspiracy against Roumania and of recruiting for secret purposes. He is known to have contributed 5000 Lei for the purposes of a conspiracy. I hereby invite all political and military Authorities, police organs and political agents, to arrest the person named should he be found, and to transfer him to the Military Court of the Chasseurs' Corps at Nagyvárad under a strong escort.“ St. Anthony was, however, not to be found and when 25 days later the subscribers figuring on the list were examined at Nagyvárad, the truth of the matter came to light, whereupon the „conspirators“ were released. (M. 268. 29-th November 1921.)

Dr. George Bernády the only representative of two millions of Hungarians in the Roumanian Parliament made the following statement in his maiden speech on the 10-th of April 1922, on the charges

11. Statement made by the only representative of two millions of Hungarians in the Roumanian Parliament on charges of irredentism and on political trials. ..

of irredentism. „We only wish to do honest work here, within the frontiers of this country, in order to solve all problems that interest us. In the face of this statement the question might be put to me, what is the explanation of the endless series of lawsuits in which my kinsmen are involved under charges of high treason and conspiracy. In reply to this question my answer is: If you will take the trouble of examining the endless series of trials held to this date, you will find that there is hardly one case among them having a serious foundation. It may be, that there are people among us who nourish unattainable hopes or who have high-strung nerves, but the whole community cannot be held responsible for these. The only possible charge against us, that partial people can make, is, that we have our own mother language, that our mothers have born us to be Hungarians, that we have been

educated as such by our fathers and that in spite of the change in the rule of our country, we wish to live and to die as Hungarians. We are honourably making agree our new citizenship with our race and are using our best endeavours to be not only loyal members of our race and honest promoters of culture, but also to be loyal subjects of the Kingdom of Roumania. No one shall try to make renegates of us, for he, that is capable of denying his race, is under given circumstances capable of betraying his country, his King, and even his God." („Aradi Közlöny" 13-th, May 1922.)

12. Severe bodily maltreatment applied to various persons.

In the period between 1919—1920 many members of the Hungarian intelligent class were painfully maltreated. Since the year of 1921 these cases, apart from the torture of persons under preparatory arrest, have become less frequent. In the spring of 1921 the Dean of the Unitarian Theological Faculty of Kolozsvár was arrested. The charge formed against him was of having, during the winter of 1920, when the delegates of the Unitarians of America visited Transylvania, given information to the delegation in a spirit hostile to the Roumanian Government and being therefore responsible for their report unfavourable to the Roumanians. He was put in prison and flogged three times. When the Unitarian Church Council made a complaint through the British and American Mission, the Roumanian police simply denied that its organs had maltreated the Dean. As an explanation for the injuries that could be seen on him, they alleged that for want of room he had been imprisoned in one cell with a Catholic and a Reformed clergyman, that a discussion had arisen among them on a theological question, which became so fierce that a scuffle followed, in the course of which he contracted the injuries. (See also the atrocities enumerated in Chapters I and III.)

13. Mediaval torture. Wounds cut with razors. Application of salt to wounds. Fingers pricked with needles under the nails. Breaking of frontal bone. Hot eggs carried in armpits. Breaking of finger bones. Hanging. Extortion of confessions by hypnosis. Dog kennels as sleeping quarters in winter time. Final „Treatment" before the exchange of prisoners . . .

The sufferings of Árpád Bartha: On the 8-th of December, 1921, Árpád Bartha, one of the Roumanian prisoners exchanged, arrived in Budapest. One of his legs was amputated and he arrived with the marks of flogging on his body in such a bad state that the city ambulance had to take him out of the railway carriage. He is 26 years of age, a cripple and covered with innumerable wounds. In connection with the tortures he was made to go through during a period

of one year, he gave the following details: He was a student of the Metallurgical School of Késmárk. After having lost one of his legs in the war at the end of 1916 he went to his native town Brassó in the autumn, of 1920 and devoted himself to working out inventions. On the 11-th of December he called on an electric engineer at Brassó, intending to buy some aluminium wire for one of his inventions. The day after, he travelled to Craiova where he was arrested under the charge that he was the author of the outrage committed in the Bucarest Senate on the 7-th of December. The same day (the 12-th of December) he was transported to Bucarest and examined at 5 p. m. by Dr. Bianu, Chief of the head-quarters of the „Siguranta“ as well as by Comissioners Tatu and Georgescu. As he refused to plead guilty to participation in the bomb outrage committed in the Senate, he was handed over to two detectives who tried to obtain a confession from him. They took him into a room, beat him with a bull's pizzle till he bled and then led him back to Dr. Bianu the Chief Officer, but as he did not plead guilty, he was again handed over to his tormentors for them to obtain his confession.

Hereafter they cut open the thumb of his left hand, the palm of his hand and the tip of his right small finger, and applied salt to his wounds which were 2—2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep and pricked the wounds with needles. When no confession was forthcoming a stout needle was introduced $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep under the nail of his left index. (This wound is still visible.) Again they took him before Dr. Bianu who, however, was not statisfied with his confession and returned him to the detectives for further torture.

This time a blunt bayonet was fixed to a military rifle, the prisoner made to stand near the wall and the bayonet slowly pressed into his forehead. When it had penetrated into the bone they moved it right and left so that the poor victim collapsed. They poured cold water over him and boiled some eggs and put them in his armpits to wake him. When they succeeded in making him stand on his legs, they again took him to Dr. Bianu. Still no confession was obtained and the prisoner was taken back to the torture chamber where they put stout pencils between his left hand fingers and powerfully squeezed his hand. A little later two pieces of wood were fixed to his sides under the arms, the ends drawn together by means of straps in front and in the back so that his ribs cracked. Then he was suspended on a hook and only taken down after 10 minutes, when the blood run through his nose and mouth. When he came round he was again taken before Dr. Bianu but could not say anything new.

Dr. Bianu then ordered a Doctor to hypnotise the prisoner. This was done, and when he woke up from his sleep, he was made to sign his confession, without knowing what it contained. The details of the confession thus obtained were only communicated to him on the 17-th of January 1921 at the trial before the Military Court. The torture only ended at 2. a. m.

At 2 a. m. he was led into a corner of the prison yard, made to double up and enter a dogs kennel where his clothes froze to his body on account of the cutting wind and cold weather. An armed guard watched him. On the 13-th of December 1920 at 9 a. m. soldiers came to fetch him and cut up the ice around him with their swords in order to be able to pull him out of the kennel. They took him to Dr. Bianu who ordered that he should be taken to Kolozsvár.

On the 14-th of December 1920 at 11 a. m. he arrived at Kolozsvár in a „Black Maria“ and was brought to the „Siguranta“ before Dr. Bianu in the presence of two strangers. From thence they took him to the Public Prosecutor's prison and locked him into a cell with four murderers. On the 17-th of December he was transferred to the fort and kept in a separate cell till the 15-th of January 1921 when he was taken to Bucarest to be courtmartialled.

The Court Martial was begun on the 17-th of January, 1921 Major Arama and First Lieutenant Sirbu (the latter spoke Hungarian) were selected for his Counsels. Only the following were present at the trial: the President, four members of the Court, two Counsels for the defence, Dr. Bianu, Chief of the Siguranta and finally a tinsmith of Brassó, named Kertész. The principal charge was the confession alleged to have been made while prisoner was under the influence of hypnosis. According to the confession he planned a renewed attempt, had the outrage against the Senate not been successful. As he was at the time made to sign this confession, it was considered as full evidence of guilt and a sentence of capital punishment was passed. On the 18-th of January prisoner was taken to Brassó, imprisoned at the Fort where he remained till the 4-th of March. At this date he was informed that by way of mercy his sentence was reduced to 20 years of hard labour. On the 20-th of the same month he was taken to another salt mine at Ocnele Mare where prisoners worked without chains. (Here he met Jenő Sebő, Station Master, and János Horváth of Székelyudvarhely.)

On the 4-th of October 1921 information about his exchange reached him. On the 10-th of that month he was taken to Nagyvárad and imprisoned in the Public Prosecutor's prison, where 12 men of

the 4-th Chasseurs guarded them under the command of Lieutenant Popescu who was a most inventive individual as far as the insulting of Hungarians was concerned. On the 27-th of October he was transferred to the Jewish Hospital with appendicitis. Here a British Colonel visited him on the 1-st of November accompanied by Dr. Turchányi, a ministerial delegate, who inquired about the tortures he had endured. Mr. Vértes, the Doctor of the local Hospital was present during this conversation. After the departure of the Commission the Vice-Chief of the Siguranta presented himself at the Hospital, accompanied by two detectives (one of these could not speak Roumanian but only Hungarian and was addressed by the others as „Baron“. He was an old tall man, rather thin, wearing an eye-glass) and demanded to be informed of his conversation with the Mission. As he did not supply them with the particulars required, they took him down the basement, into a chamber reserved for raving mad patients and beat him with a bull's pizzle till he bled. The Baron treated him with special cruelty. Especially his neck and his face was badly beaten and even now his right ear is broken open from the blows. On the 4-th of November two private soldiers and a corporal escorted him to the Attorney General. When they entered through the gate, they met the above three men of the Siguranta and also the Baron. These beckoned to the soldiers, whereupon one of the latter struck his head from behind with the stock of a rifle so badly that he collapsed. The beating was however continued on the ground, till the blood run from between his 5-th and 6-th rib as was found later at the Hospital. The poor man lay quivering on the ground and the blood ran from his nose and mouth.

The Attorney General was then called down and the soldiers told him that the man had collapsed. The Attorney hereupon ordered him to be taken to the Hospital where he was kept till the 8-th of December. After this they took him to the railway station and handed him over to the Hungarian Authorities at 10 a. m. on the same day. He arrived in Budapest at 10 p. m. and was transported away from the railway carriage by the city ambulance. (Based on a protocole of evidence.)

We do not enumerate many thou- 14. **Human dignity insulted.**
sands of cases in which atrocities were **Atrocities.. . . .**
perpetrated by the soldiers of the troops of occupation in their victorious frenzy in 1918—1919 on the Hungarians, who laid down arms according to the treaty of armistice of Belgrade (13-th November, 1918), thinking that such acts would only be qualified as the after-effect of the horrors of the war. It is however impossible to pass in silence over,

the brutal measures taken by the authorities, which followed each other like the links of a chain since the beginning of Roumanian parliamentary life and even after the conclusion and signing of the peace treaties, and which must be considered as unscrupulous outrages against human dignity.

In order to show what feelings are created by such atrocities within the soul of the Hungarians of Transylvania, we quote the statement of a Roumanian Professor of Bucarest.

14/a. Outcry of a Hungarian peasant: „Death in preference to flogging“

The „Adeverul“ of Bucarest (10-th March 1922) reports the following facts:

„A Professor who took part in the Transylvanian electioneering campaign, communicates some details in connection with the state of mind of the Transylvanian people. Among these, the words of an old Hungarian of County Háromszék are especially worthy of being recorded:“

„We are living in hard times, Professor“, said the peasant.

„Do you know, what hard times are?“

„I say, Professor, in the old times people used to be shot dead but not flogged. I wish they would shoot us nowadays instead of beating us!“

These few words eloquently characterize the selfesteem of the Hungarian peasant who prefers to endure any kind of hardships rather than seeing himself humiliated in his human dignity.

After these things it may be well imagined what traces are left in the soul of the Hungarians by Roumanian rule, when the Roumanian Authorities cause even Hungarian clergymen, men of distinction and women to be flogged, prompted by a desire for persecution and by racial hatred, as a punishment for any reference made to the laws of the Country. („Brassói Lapok“, No. 60, 13-th March 1922.)

Besides the atrocities committed on clergymen, reported in Chapters I. and III., innumerable Hungarians have suffered martyrdom, under the most impossible and far fetched pretexts, which cannot be kept on record and for which the Law Courts of this Earth cannot give reparation. Yet we think it well to enumerate some cases only to illustrate the moral side of the ruling system.

14/b. A Gentleman beaten to Death

At Nagyvárad Mr. Gyula Weiszlovits, a houseowner, let part of his flat to some Hungarians, seeking shelter in their native place and „home“. (According to a Roumanian edict, Civil Servants not sworn in were



Roumanian Gendarme "administering" justice in districts inhabited by Hungarians, with the cat of nine tails.
Photograph taken by an Entente Officer,

bound to return to their native towns or to be „repatriated“ over the line of demarcation.) The military Commander demanded that Weiszlovits should eject from his flat the Hungarian refugees „of his own will“, and place it at the disposal of Roumanian officers, also „of his own accord“. As Weiszlovits was not inclined to eject his unfortunate tenants, he was given 25 strokes with a stick. Two days after the military Commander repeated his „request“ and as the old gentleman again refused to carry out the orders, he was again given 25 strokes as a result of which he died within a few days. (N. U., 8-th April 1920.)

14/c. A District Judge, a member of the Board of Guardians and a Solicitor beaten till they bled

At Sepsiszentgyörgy (reports the „5 o'clock News“ of Kolozsvár, 21-th of February 1922) the Siguranta ordered the arrest of Kálmán Kovács, a District Judge, of Dr. Andor Barabás, member of the Board of Guardians, and Dr. Kálmán Sipos, a Solicitor, suspected of conspiracy. In the course of their cross-examination these gentlemen were beaten with bull's pizples, reinforced with lead and copper, till they collapsed, covered with bleeding wounds. Their families tried in vain to obtain their release from the torture chambers. Finally Baron Béla Szentkereszthy intervened and offered his whole fortune in order to secure the release of the persons arrested. When the victims, covered with terrible wounds, left the police station, the Chief of the Police declared that only a mistake had been made in their case.

d. Prisoners beaten till they bled and forced to beat each other

At Csikszereda, Gyula Lőrinc and Mihály Konerth, shop assistants were arrested by the Police at night on the 8-th of September 1921, and beaten till they bled at the police station. Mr. Taban, the Chief of the Police, was the first to beat them. After the punishment they were put in prison. In the morning hours, policemen entered the cell of the prisoners and again beat them.

Mihály Konerth was then ordered to box the ears of his companions. When the policemen saw that he did it with insufficient energy, the soldiers continued flogging him. („Brassói Lapok“, 14-th September, 1921).

Confessions obtained from prisoners stripped naked and burnt with red hot irons

Jon Pop, one of the detectives of the Nagyvárad Police, was making a search at Csanaköz, after a stolen tobacco-cutting machine. In the course of his investigation he arrested János Prinzing, a Roman Catholic teacher

and János Angyal, an engineer. As the two men arrested knew nothing about the machine, the detectives stripped both of them and tried to obtain confessions, by burning their bodies with hot irons. ("Szamos", 8-th February 1922.)

A working man, named Mihály Vass was arrested at Temesvár for misdemeanour and flogged so that he died. In the course of the post mortem examination it was established that his body was from head to foot covered with bruises. There was not a place on his whole body, where marks of floggings could not be seen and 60 marks of blows were found on him. At the same time with Mihály Vass, a working man, Márton Weiss by name was arrested and also beaten so badly that he had to be taken to the Hospital in a serious condition. He gave evidence to the effect that he and Mihály Vass were beaten by a police officer and by two policemen. ("Temesvári Hirlap", 16-th February 1922.)

At Szatmár the President of the Trade Association, Mr. Kerekes, was beaten by a Roumanian officer as a result of an incident connected with some housing trouble. When Kerekes protested against this brutality, he was beaten again. He then requested to be taken before Colonel Neagu in order to make a complaint. He was thereupon bound and carried away. When the Colonel found out that only one Hungarian had dared to protest, he kicked the defenceless man and boxed his ears. (4-th of November 1921.)

On the 6-th of February 1919 the new Roumanian Civil Servants and the Army held a festival at Udvarhely, in celebration of the Union of Moldavia and Roumania. The festival was connected with a dance in the market square of the town. It is stated that a student of the College having windows looking over the market square, called out towards the people who enjoyed themselves: "Three Cheers for Hungary". Hereupon Mr. Neamtu the Prefect summoned a number of soldiers to follow him and kicked the gate of the College "with his own feet", till it was opened in response to his threats and insults. He then invaded the boarding school with the soldiers and went among the assembled students. As he could not find the culprit, he beat a 13 years old boy so badly, that his jawbone broke. Then he selected 11 other boys and had them flogged at the County Hall till

14/f. Accused dies in the hands of the Police, bleeding from 60 severe wounds.

14/g. The Hungarians are beaten because they are Hungarians..

14/h. Students flogged and beaten

they bled. Here, Géza Fosztó, a boy of the 6-th form, seeing how his comrades were tortured, took the guilt of the cheering on himself, whereupon he was stripped naked and beaten till he and his comrades fainted.

After this it happened repeatedly that detachments of 15—20 armed Roumanian soldiers broke into the class-rooms and dragged away some boys with them; these boys were beaten and released after several days of imprisonment. The flogging was carried out in such a way, that a Roumanian soldier was made to sit each on the head and the feet of the poor victims, while a third man cruelly applied terrible blows with the buckle end of a military belt. (V. 11-th Dec. 1919.)

14/i. Flogging of a former Lieutenant Colonel of the Hungarian Gendarmerie Force in the market square.

A trial for defamation was held at Kolozsvár on the 20-th of May 1922 before the Royal Roumanian Court of Justice in which Juon Nemesu, Prefect of the Police of Csikszereda was the plaintiff and a Hungarian Journalist the defendant. The President of the Court, Mr. Bohatiel addressed the following question to the Prefect of the Police:

„Is it true that you have ordered a former Lieutenant Colonel of the Gendarmerie to be flogged in the market square at Csikszereda?“

„It is, Sir“, „was the reply“ but the flogging was justified because he had beaten a Policeman.“

The President of the Court did not approve of the standpoint of the Chief of the Police, yet the defendant was sentenced for „defamation“ to a principal fine of 200 Lei with 100 Lei accessory expenses. („5 o'clock News“, No. 105, 11-th May 1922.)

14/j. A Merchant beaten by the police till he bleeds. Apologies for maltreatment.

At Sepsiszentgyörgy, Samu Berger, a merchant was taken to the police quarters where Police Prefect Maier had a spirited interview with a woman, of which Berger could not understand anything being totally ignorant of the Roumanian language. When they had finished the Prefect turned against Berger and called him a bloodsucker. When Berger protested against this insult, he was seized by two policemen and by detective Diosan, taken to the backyard of the police station and beaten black and blue. The men stood on his back, kicked him and finally stripped him of his clothes and locked him in a cell. In order to save Berger who had thus disappeared, a delegation consisting of a number of citizens and

merchants called on Prefect Vasile Pop who settled matters favourably. When Berger was released, a medical examination established that there were injuries on his body caused by lashing with the buckled end of military belts, with the flat side of swords and by kicking. Only then did it come to light that the wife of a Roumanian policeman had informed against Berger because his (Berger's) father in law refused to sell fine flour to the policeman's wife, a fact so far unknown to Berger. When he was released, they made him sign a statement, according to which he had no complaint to make, whereupon the Police officer tendered his apologies for what happened. (Extract from a censured number of „Erdélyi Ujság“, 17-th of September 1920.)

On the 23-rd of April 1920 a recruiting examination took place at Brassó when a young peasant of Bácsfalu, Vilmos Bálint by name, was wounded on his head, his chest and his back (the wound on the head being a long cut, the others caused by the thrust of bayonets), and then kept in prison for several weeks. Finally he was released. A few months after, the Police informed him that he would be transported to Nagyszében the next day. His former experience of maltreatment at the hands of the Roumanians, however, frightened him so much, according to a letter left by him, that he went into the forest and hanged himself. („Erdélyi Ujság“ 27-th of September 1920.)

The Theatrical Company of Miklós Unghvári was playing at Resica. Sava Gusa the Police Captain cast an eye on Lily Borbély, the leading lady, who was also courted by Bandi Rudas playing lovers' parts. The Captain got rid of his rival by sending out four detectives to fetch him, who took him to the police quarters accusing him of irredentism and beat him so, that he had to be transported to the hospital. („Ellenzék“, 10-th May 1922.)

At Sepsibükszád (County Háromszék) the new Roumanian Authorities ordered that every household shall pay 5 Lei per month for victualling the Roumanian Gendarmerie and in addition, that every farmer owning a cow shall supply 2 litres of milk for the Gendarmes at a price of 4.50 Lei per week. (Extract from the censured „Brassói Lapok“, 14-th Oct. 1920.)

16. Something about the culture of the Roumanian Gendarmerie

Romulus Joinescu, the General Director of the Siguranta, held a lecture at Bucarest on the 22-nd of March 1922 in the circle of Judges of the Criminal Court, in the course of which he made the following statement: „Nowadays when we compete with the Western Countries, as far as criminal causes are concerned, such cases can only be disclosed by science and not with the fists and blows of police officers. Unluckily, the majority of the Police Staff are recruited among people supported by politicians, and their standard of culture is so low that they are unable to understand the teachings of the Police force Training School, even in their most simplified form.“ („Dimineata“, 15-th March 1922.)

If such are the policemen in the Capital of Roumania, it may be well imagined what they are like in the newly allotted „Western“ Provinces.

Chapter I of the Treaty for the Protection of Monirities, dated the 9-th of December 1919.

Art. 8. § 1. All persons to enjoy the same political and civil rights.

§ 2. Differences in religion shall not interfere with the practice of the various trades and branches of industry.

X.

Official Distinction made in the rights of Roumanian subjects belonging to various nationalities, even in trade and industry.

1. Documents proving nationality required for Civil Service examinations

According to an edict of the Roumanian Royal Ministry of the Interior, in operation since the 1-st of November 1921, Districtual Administration Officers (Chiefs of the Jurisdiction) are compelled to pass an examination qualifying them for their posts. Persons who have completed their studies at the Universities, further Army Captains on the active list, former First Lieutenants or holders of the final certificate of the Notaries' Training School, may apply for admission to examinations. Among other documents, papers proving the nationality of the applicants must be attached to the applications („Dacia“, 14-th Oct. 1921) certificates of nationality and not of „citizenship“ being therefore necessary.

Prefect Dr. Barbul of Kolozsvár, when a delegation of craftsmen presented itself before him to complain of the incorrect and incompetent „maximisation“ of prices and of other industrial troubles, openly declared to have the intention „to ruin Hungarian craftsmen“. (J. 10-th February 1921.)

2. An official statement on the ruining of Hungarian Craftsmen

On the 23-rd of April 1920 the old premises in the main square of Kolozsvár, belonging to Sándor Ábrahám Gentleman's outfitter, a distinguished merchant, were requisitioned by the Government Commissioner on Housing, for the benefit of Juon Popa, who already owned a shop in the main square and had only recently settled in Kolozsvár. A delay of 24 hours was fixed for the evacuation of these stores. After taking cognizance of this measure of violence, the owner had a nervous breakdown and had to be taken to a private hospital for nervous troubles. In spite of this, his premises were evacuated and taken possession of by the new owner. („Dacia“ of Bucarest, 1st of May 1920.)

3. Shops and other premises of Hungarian craftsmen and tradespeople requisitioned for Roumanians ..

At Kolozsvár the shop of Ignatz Ferenczy, a bootmaker established 40 years ago, further the premises of Salamon Kappel, bootmaker, of Daniel Andrasowsky, tanner (and president of the Trade Corporation) and of Peter Czetz, undertaker, were requisitioned for police stations. (J. 10-th February 1921.)

The premises of the old Hungarian Trade Corporation of Kolozsvár have also been requisitioned.

On Holidays of the Greek-Oriental Church and on many Roumanian national Holidays, recently instituted, an order of general prohibition of work is issued causing incalculable damage to industries. A full month's prohibition of work was planned for the Greek-Oriental Easter Holidays and for Lent. (19-th of February 1921.)

4. Prohibition of work for Hungarians on Greek-Oriental holidays

At Marosvásárhely, where, out of a population of 25.517, only 761 are Greek-Oriental Roumanians, Mr. Cariade, Prefect of the Police, visited in turn each of the shops in the main square on the 6-th of May 1922, ordering the merchants to close their shops, as it was St. George's day. The merchants referred to the edict of the Minister of the Interior, in which the exact list of the compulsory holidays is contained, no mention is made, however, of St. George's day, the observance of this holiday being left to the religious persuasion of tradespeople. The Prefect of the police hereupon

threatened the merchants with violence and they were obliged to comply with his orders. („5 o'clock News" No. 103, 9-th May 1922.)

5. Provisions contained in Roumanian industrial Laws contrary to the corresponding measures of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities. „

The Act of Law sanctioned in 1912 for Promoting National Industries (Lege pentru incurajarea industrie nationale) has been extended to the territories newly acquired, by an edict of the Minister of Commerce, issued on the 6-th of December 1920 under No. 95.380. The important provisions of this Act are the following:

§ 18. The members of the Industrial Tax Committee to be Roumanians, and not under 30 years of age.

§ 21. Every undertaking enjoying the privileges granted under this Law, to employ Roumanian workmen to the extent of at least 75% of the total number.

75% of the staff of administration to be Roumanians, at the latest by the end of the first period of the grant for every privileged class.

The members of the technical staff must also be Roumanians to the extent of 25% at the beginning of the second period and of 60% at the beginning of the third period.

§ 25. Privileged undertakings to submit the balance of the previous year of business to the Ministry of Commerce, together with a list stating the number and nationality of workmen, both of the technical staff and of the staff of administration.

6. Explanation in connection with the nationalization of trade and industry.

The nationalization of Industrial Societies is to be interpreted so, that only Roumanians born may sit on the Board of Industrial Societies. The old Hungarian trade licences were, — at a considerable outlay, — exchanged for Roumanians, without any official order. Applications made in Hungarian are rejected despite an order to the contrary. (J. 10-th February 1921.)

The Chamber of Trade and Industry of Kolozsvár was only allowed to continue its work by the old Roumanian Government on condition that its President, one Vice-President and half of the members of the Committee shall be elected among Roumanians born, although only 23% of the members of the Chamber were Roumanians. („Infratirea", 6 th November 1921.)

The conditions stipulated for Trade Corporations are the same as those for the Chambers of Trade and Industry. („Consum", 11-th Dec. 1921.)

Banks and Limited Companies founded by Hungarians may only continue their work on condition that part of their shares are ceded to Roumanians born and that Roumanian nationals will also be elected members of the Board of Directors. („Ellenzék“, 14-th Dec. 1921 „Szamos“, 5-th of November 1921.)

The Law dealing with Cooperative Societies in villages, has been extended over Transylvania. Under No. 223/42.046/921/XII. notice of a public competition was given by the Central Board, the first condition of admission being that the competitors must be „Roumanians“ and not only subjects of Roumania. (Extract from „Vointa“ dated the 13-th of January 1922.)

At Kolozsvár an application was made for the establishment of a Rope Spinning Works, and the Authorities, referring to the Edict on Nationalization only granted the permission on condition that 55% of the members of the Board of Directors and of the Staff, will be Roumanian nationals. („Keleti Ujság“, 29-th December 1921.)

At Marosvásárhely three medical men wanted to establish a sanatorium. The Superintendent of Health was only disposed to issue the permission if a Roumanian Doctor is admitted as business partner of the establishment.

The „In dreptaria“ dated the 25-th of August, 1921 reports that a Textile Engineering School was established at Temesvár to which „only“ Roumanian pupils holding the certificate of the fourth form of a secondary school are admitted, with a view to displacing „foreign“ textile engineers in Textile Works.

7. Only Roumanian Nationals admitted to Trade Schools.

According to a notice of the Szamos Valley Railway Co. Ltd., No. A. I., dated the 2-nd of January 1922 (as published in the „Keleti Ujság“ under date of the 7-th January): The Szamos Valley Railway Co. Ltd. is open to give immediate employment to 1 Machinery Engineer, 1 Architect, 1 Mechanic holding the certificate of a Trades High School, 1 holder of final certificate of an Academy of Laws, 2—3 holders of certificates of Commercial Schools. Required are further several Bachelors of Arts or holders of the certificate of the 6-th form of a secondary School. Only persons whose mother language is the Roumanian will be admitted, provided that they possess the thorough knowledge of the Roumanian and Hungarian and possibly of the German and French languages. Applications and documents to be addressed to the Board of Directors at Deés, by the 20-th of January.

8. Hungarian Nationals excluded even from the Staff of undertakings founded by Hungarians

9. **Assessment and collection of „Donations“ by the Authorities for the erection of a Roumanian Church, from the income of the merchants of Hungarian towns.**

At Sepsiszentgyörgy Dr. Z. Crisan, the Primar, issued an order No. 6532/920 dated the 25-th of January 1921 referring to an edict No. 156/901 of the Prefect, directing the local Cooperative Society to pay over to the hands of Prefect-Secretary

Romulus Cosma a sum of 5000 Lei and to the treasurer of the Municipal Council a sum of 1900 Lei out of the takings realized by the sale of sugar, for the erection of a Roumanian Greek-Oriental Church. (J. 10-th Febr. 1921.)

10. **Trade licences of cabmen are withdrawn, if they use former Hungarian street names in the course of conversation**

At Marosvásárhely, a city of 25.517 inhabitants, of which only 1717 are Roumanian nationals, the Prefect of the police, Mr. Carriade summoned to his office on

the 7-th of May 1922 the President of the Cab-owners Corporation Mr. Fischer by name, and ordered that cabmen shall not in future dare to use the old Hungarian street names (dating back to several centuries). He stated that trade licences will immediately be withdrawn if cabmen should refer to a street or a square, using the Hungarian names in the course of conversation with their „fare“. In vain did the president protest that the new names were not yet current among the public of this purely Hungarian city (the inhabitants are so far unable even to pronounce the new Roumanian names, the meaning of which is also unknown) so that no compulsion can be laid on cabmen in this sense. The prefect of the Police only limited himself to whistling to the worthy president of the corporation, thus signifying to him to leave at once. („5 o'clock News“ No. 103, 9-th May 1922.)

11. **Industrial and Commercial firms judged according to their nationality.**

In its issue of the 19-th of February 1922 the „Temesvári Hírlap“ reports as follows:

„The principal thing would be not to interfere in any way with productive and creative work. Individuals, firms, their administration and actions should not only be judged according to the nationality of their leaders. Against this, in many cases tendencies are tried to be brought forth, to judge business firms according to the nationality of the owners.“

Chapter X of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities dated the 9-th of december 1919.

Art. 2. Roumania guarantees full protection of life and of freedom to all.

Art. 8. All subjects to be equal before law and to enjoy the same civil and political rights.

Art. 9. Minorities of race, religion or language to enjoy the same treatment and the same guarantees as Roumanians born.

XI.

A) The injurious measures of Roumanian Landownership Law.

The maximum of non-expropriable property is fixed at 200 Hectares in the old Kingdom, for sparsely populated districts, at 300 Hectares for more populated districts and at 500 Hectares for densely populated districts. In Transylvania the same figures are applied in yokes. As the surface of the Hectare is to the surface of the Yoke, as 1 is to 1738, and as the soil is more fertile in the old Kingdom, the non-expropriable property is smaller in Transylvania for all three classes. In Transylvania, therefore the maximum fixed should be greater than that provided by law, in the same proportion as the area of the yoke exceeds a hectare.

A) 1. Differences in the maximum of non-expropriable property in Transylvania and in Roumania

According to §. 8. of Chapter I.) all estates exceeding 30 yokes in villages, and exceeding 10 yokes in towns, are capable of expropriation if they were let on lease during the period between 1914—1918. In the old Kingdom the property of Civil Servants and Army Officers is exempted from this measure. Not so in Transylvania, a fact most injurious especially for those who lost their positions through Roumanian Rule.

A) 2. The maximum is capable of reduction, even to the detriment of small estates under 100 yokes

According to §. 8. of this law the whole property of persons absent is to be expropriated. Are to be considered as absent, all persons having lived in a foreign country from the 1-st of December 1918 till the coming into operation of this law, without having been compelled to do so through some official mission from the Government.

A) 3. Expropriation of estates belonging to persons absent

Since the date mentioned, many landowners of Transylvania, owning estates of various extensions, have been obliged to flee from the country for reasons, independent of their will, and have so far been unable to return.

A) 4. Differences in the sum of expropriation in Transylvania and in the Roumanian Kingdom

In Roumania the sum of expropriation amounts to forty times the average of the lease paid in the period between 1916 and 1922. In Transylvania, on the other hand, the market value of the property as estimated in 1913 is paid in the case of expropriation. Through this measure, Transylvanian landowners will lose at least 100% as compared with their fellow countrymen in Roumania. No compensation obtains through the equal value of the Crown and the Leu, since in 1913 the Crown was to, the Leu as 95 to 100.

A) 5. Distinction made in the possibility of expropriation in Roumanian and Hungarian properties

§. 24. Chapter II. of this law and §. 32. Chapter III. dealing with the expropriation of forests and pastures belonging to Municipalities provides that the forest areas belonging to the so-called Naszód foundations, owned by the successors of the former II-nd Regiment of the Roumanian Border Guard of Naszód shall be exempted from expropriation. The so-called private property in County Csik of the 1st Siculian Border Guard Regiment, which is in every respect based on identical principles and of the same origin as the former, is however, not exempted, simply because this property is not in Roumanian but in Hungarian hands.

At Békés, a municipality with a population of 7133, —2048 head of cattle, 320 horses and 1694 sheep were registered in 1921 with an adequate area of pastures. The Roumanian Agrarian Committee of County Csik, however, allotted further 13.236 Hectares (23.003 yokes) of pastures to the existing pasture area, from the property of the neighbouring Hungarian Municipalities. In consequence of this, 1177 hectares (2046 yokes) of pastures were taken from Gyergyószentmiklós, a town inhabited by 8905 Hungarians, so that the town had only 520 Hectares (905 yokes) left for 4358 head of cattle, 326 horses and 4839 sheep totalling 9522 animals in all, while the Roumanians of Békás now have at their disposal an area of over 17.264 Hectares (30.000 yokes) of pastures for their 4062 animals. (Extract from a complaint made by the Hungarians of County Csik and submitted to the Roumanian Authorities in October 1921.)

This is in utter contradiction with § 8. of the Treaty of Peace, according to which the Roumanian Government is bound to grant equal treatment to all subjects of the Country.

On the 2nd of April 1922, 420 Hungarian small farmers of Györfalva, Pasa and Ajton (County Kolozs), went to Kolozsvár to seek a remedy for their grievances. In the year of 1917 and 1918 the property of Count Horváth and Zeyk was divided into lots by the Altruistic Bank and sold to 420 small farmers of the above three villages, who undisturbedly worked there for a period of three years. Roumanian Rule, however, introduced the Roumanian Agrarian Law and in the spring of 1920 the properties in question were seized and let on lease, so that their owners remained without property. They made repeated complaints about this treatment and even applied to the King himself, but no reply was forthcoming. As they had to live somehow, necessity compelled them to take on lease their own property at high rates. In addition to the fact that the Roumanian Government deprived them of their property and that they are now holding the same on lease only, the Bank which effected the sales at the time, now claims payment of the arrears of the amounts of purchase.

A) 6. Hungarian small farmers of three villages holding their own property on lease

§ 15. of Chapter I provides that the maximum of expropriable property shall be capable of reduction under 50 yokes in densely inhabited districts. In this case the owner is to be allotted some other property of the same size, in another municipality or in a district suitable for settlement. According to § 117 of Chapter XV in the execution of this measure, first the inhabitants of the County in question, then the inhabitants of other Counties and finally the inhabitants of other provinces are to be taken in consideration for settlement.

A) 7. Measures in connection with settlement, injuring Hungarian interests

§ 15. provides that Hungarians owning properties smaller than 50 yokes shall also be transferred by way of settlement from Transylvania into the Dobruddza and the Bessarabian province. According to § 117, Russians from Bessarabia or Tartars from Dobruddza may be made to settle in the place of Hungarians.

By means of these measures, the present ethnographical card of Transylvania can be thoroughly altered.

A) 8. Measures detrimental to old Hungarian settlements

Art. 10 of Chapter I provides that properties exceeding 7 yokes, belonging to owners settled at their present place of residence since the 1-st, of January 1885, shall also be capable of expropriation. As, according to § 85. of the law, the 7 yokes exempted from expropriation may be reduced to 5 yokes according to necessity, it is simply left to the good will of the organs carrying out the expropriation whether they leave 7 yokes in possession of the former owners or whether they reduce this figure to 5 yokes. These settlers are Hungarian nationals and the areas purchased by them vary from 12 to 20 yokes.

A) 9. New laws against Hungarian settlers

As these properties have been purchased on condition that the purchase price is to be paid off during a period of from 40 to 50 years, their rights of ownership had not been entered in their name in the land register, in many cases not so even after they had paid off the loans. Some of these had the properties entered in their name after the 1-st of December 1918, when the Hungarian Courts of Law were still in function. Such entries in the land register lost their validity under edict No. VII. of the Governing Council, issued in the month of February 1919. A supplementary Act of Law was issued on the 4-th of July 1921 by the Roumanian Parliament, confirming this edict and providing that „the entries made after the 1-st of December 1918 shall lose their validity and the right of ownership be transferred to the Roumanian Government free of all burdens, even if the documents on which the registration was based duly possess the legal form required.”

This supplementary Act of Law made the existence of about 20.000 individuals questionable since their properties may be seized at any moment and without any compensation from the Roumanian Authorities.

A) 10. Deficiencies of the Syndicate of Land-owners in its intercourse with Authorities carrying out the expropriation.. .. .

According to the act of law referred to, the expropriation is carried out by official organisations created in accordance with the corresponding directions. In doubtful questions final decision rests with the Court of Law as highest authority. The Courts are however constituted in such a manner that the owners interested have no representative in them. The owner is allowed to enter into touch with the local Committee but only as a „bargaining“ party, and is not represented on the Committee, while the delegates of the peasants are members of the same.

It would have been most comforting for the landowners to have representatives on the agrarian committees dealing with their vital interests.

The delegates of the Transylvanian Farming Association would then have been the representatives of impartiality, technical knowledge and dignity in these official organisations.

In most cases Hungarian landowners are found in the presence of Roumanians who make applications for allotment, but no Hungarians are employed by the competent organs. The executive organs are moreover acting without the necessary technical knowledge and impartiality as was generally experienced in the distribution of property let on compulsory lease.

"In the distribution of compulsory leasehold property" says the Hungarian Union in its application submitted to the Roumanian Government in the summer of the year 1921 after the publication of the new agrarian Act of Law, "in most cases the cause of the injury and injustice done to the parties interested, was the partiality, ignorance, lack of discipline and often the rashness shown in the execution of the Law".

This statement is confirmed by an official protocole drawn up on the 12-th April 1921 under No. 15/920 R. A. at Alparét, in which town the properties of Hungarian landowners were let on compulsory lease up to the minimum fixed, while in the same town the estates of Alexander Vajda Voevod and his brother were entirely exempted from compulsion of lease.

As expropriation and installing of rightful applicants will also be carried out by the official organs who carried out the expropriation, the distrust shown by the Hungarians of Transylvania in connection with the execution of the Law is well founded.

B) Roumanian Nationalization of Trade and Industry.

a) The Chamber of Trade and Industry Kolozsvár was only permitted to work by the Government, on condition that the president, one of the Vice-Presidents and 50% of the members of the Committee shall be Roumanian nationals. The other Vice-President and the remaining 50% of the

A) 11. According to experiences made so far, the carrying out of the expropriation is lacking material and personal guarantees of impartiality

B) 1. Roumanian nationalization of Chambers of Trade and Industry and withdrawal of their autonomy.

members of the Committee may be representatives of the Minorities. In this Chamber 60% of the members are Hungarians, 7% are Germans and only 23% are Roumanians. („Infratirea“ 6-th November 1921.)

b) How the autonomy of the Chambers of Trade and Commerce is respected by the Roumanian Authorities, is eloquently proved by the following case: At Nagyvárad, János Fetu, the President, installed by the former Prefect, was relieved from his post by Mr. Jacob the new Prefect, who appointed Mr. Romulus Barbu in his place. Fetu did not appear in the official premises of the Chamber so that there was no one from whom Mr. Barbu could have taken over his new office. Mr. Jacob declared that in the presence of this passive resistance he would instal Mr. Barbu by force in the presidential chair. („Keleti Ujság“ 26-th of November 1921.)

B) 2. Withdrawal of the autonomy of the Transylvanian Workmen's Insurance Fund and transference to Bucarest of its property amounting to 20 millions.

At the beginning of December 1921 the Roumanian Ministerial Council dissolved the Headquarters of the Workmen's Insurance Fund of Kolozsvár. The Staff was discharged and the property, representing 20 millions transferred to the Bucarest centre. Not only the working men themselves but also the Association of Employers applied for the withdrawal of this measure. Mr. Trancu-Jasi, the Labour Minister, however, refused to comply with this request for „political reasons“. (Keleti Ujság, 15-th December 1921 and „Patria“, 2-nd of December 1921.)

B) 3. Roumanian nationalization of the Commercial Academy of Kolozsvár ..

This Institute was maintained by the Guild of Merchants of Kolozsvár. It has been turned into a Government Institution by the Roumanians for the reason that certain subsidies had been assigned towards its upkeep by the Hungarian Government. The merchants thereupon proved by means of an extract of the Land Register that the building was their property, and submitted a memorandum to the Government requesting that their property should be restored. Not a word of reply was received, („Ujság“, 3-rd of September 1921, see also page 46.)

B) 4. Nationalization of Trade Corporations ..

The Trade Corporations were treated in the same manner as the Chambers of Trade and Industry. Their organisation was only allowed on condition that their Board will be formed of Roumanians and Hungarians in equal proportions. („Consum“, 11-th of December 1921.)

At the beginning of March 1920 the Governing Council issued an order according to which all Banks, Insurance Companies whose centres are outside Roumania must renew their registration in the Trades Register as provided by the Code of Commerce. („Ellenzék“, 20-th March 1920.)

B) 5. Separation of Hungarian Banks, Insurance Companies and Commercial undertakings from their centres in Hungary, and their nationalization ...

No. 90 of the „Monitorul Oficial“ dated the 27-th of July 1921 publishes a Government order containing a prohibition to Insurance Companies to make new transactions after the 3-rd of August. All new undertakings formed after the 3-rd of November 1918 are directed to apply for a business licence to the Roumanian Government.

Such licences were issued on condition that Roumanian nationals must sit on the Board of the undertakings in question and that part of their shares are ceded to Roumanian Capitalists.

The latter condition was complied with by the increase of capital. Thus the Transylvanian Savings Bank Ltd. increased its capital, from 6 millions to 40 millions of Lei, with the collaboration of the Banque de Crédit Roumain of Bucarest. Mr. Take Jonescu was elected President, Messrs Ehrenstein and Kaufmann, the former General, and the latter Vice-Direktor of the Banque de Crédit Roumain became members of the Executive Council. („Ellenzék“ 14-th of February 1922.) The First Hungarian Insurance Co. amalgamated with the „Romania“ of Nagyszeben so that the latter increased its capital to 10 millions with Roumanian participation and the style of the new firm was changed into „First Transylvanian General Insurance Company. (Szilágyáság, 2-nd of December 1921, statement of the General Agency dated the 5-th of November 1921.)

Since the Credit Syndicates and the Hangya Cooperative Society were severed from their centres in Budapest by a Government Edict dated the 20-th of March 1920, they were reorganized as independent centres on the 3-rd of June 1920.

B) 6. Attempt at the amalgamation of Hungarian Credit Syndicates and the „Hangya“ Cooperative Society with Roumanian Credit Syndicates. ...

On the 27-th of August an Act of Law was passed by the Bucarest Parliament by which the Law dealing with Syndicates of the old Kingdom, was extended over Transylvania. The execution of this Law deprives the Hungarian centre of the syndicate and its branches from their independence. The Roumanian Syndicate banks are simply village Banks controlled by the Government, while the Transylvanian Syndicates are the autonomous economical organs of the population of the villages. The struggle still

continues. The Board of the Hungarian centre submitted a memorandum to the Roumanian Government in the interest of its independence. No reply has however been received so far. („Keleti Ujság“, 9-th February 1922, „Dacia“, 5-th November 1921, „Vointa“, 13-th January 1922.)

B) 7. Injury caused to nationalities by the application of Roumanian Industrial Laws to Transylvania

The Roumanian Industrial Law provides (see Chapter X, Art. 5.) that subsidies or other privileges may only be granted to industrial undertakings by the Government or by the Authorities, if the undertakings in question employ a staff of workmen and clerks in which the number of Roumanian nationals exceeds 50. This Law was extended over Transylvania. In the month of October 1921 a limited company established a large Rope Spinning Manufactory in Kolozsvár. The city council granted the permission, on condition that 55% of the employees and the Board of Directors will be Roumanian nationals. („Keleti Ujság“, 29th December.)

At Marosvásárhely, three Hungarian Doctors wanted to establish a Sanatorium in 1920. They reported their intention to the Superintendent of Health who was only prepared to grant his permission if Roumanian Doctors were also admitted among the shareholders and business partners. (see also page 117.)

Chapter I. of the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities, dated the 9th of December 1919.

Art. 12. The enumerated rights of Minorities are under the protection of the League of Nations.

XII.

How far did Roumania fulfil the obligations and promises contained in the Treaty for the Protection of the Minorities?

1. Remarks of the Committee delegated to Transylvania by the Presbyterian Union of the Reformed World, on the execution of the Treaty for the Protection of National Minorities, dated the 9th of December, 1919.

(Published in the „Quarterly Register“, February 1921.)

„The Roumanian Government has so far not done anything to win the loyalty of its Hungarian subjects or to prevent the formation of an „Irredentist Hungary“ necessarily endangering the peace of South Eastern and Central Europe.

Having duly taken into consideration the various provisions contained in the Treaty of Peace, we have exhorted the responsible Cabinet Ministers

to take the initiative in a generous manner, worthy of statesmen and to convocate the leading men of the Hungarian Churches, irrespective of religion, to discuss matters with them in order to define on the basis of such a discussion the principles of a future policy, built up on faith in the freedom of the population and its loyalty. We have been able to assure them that such an action would be heartily welcomed.

We consider it a duty of the Roumanian Government towards the good reputation of its Hungarian subjects and of its own name, to make good the mistake made at the very beginning of Roumanian rule, by trying to obtain by force the oath of allegiance to the King of Roumania, before the Council of Paris had allotted to it „de facto“ the territories in question. The Civil Servants and the Staff of Teachers who were subjects of Hungary, could not indeed, as honest men, swear such an oath before the final transfer of the territories alluded to. They refused to be sworn in, and expulsion and ruin was their lot. We have heard all mitigating arguments that the Authorities could put forth in their defence and we agree, that they were entitled to expect Transylvania as a reward for services rendered to the Entente, but then, the mere knowledge of this fact is no excuse for a rash action, which is, we are convinced, the cause of the unfortunate circumstances reigning in that Country at present.

The League of Nations is no doubt aware, that with a view to preventing the results at present showing themselves, certain stipulations have been inserted in the Treaty concluded with Roumania. We therefore emphasize that nearly all of these stipulations have been disregarded so far, and this with a certain tendency, as we have been able to see in Bucarest.

The stipulations in question had been accepted at the time with a certain amount of hesitation. Responsible Statesmen find them incompatible with the rights of Roumania. This is how the Entente got into a blind alley.

If we look at the stipulations and promises contained in the light supplied by our experiences and studies, we hardly find a single one that has been complied with. The guarantees taken over by Dr. Vajda Veovod at the time of the London Conference, when he was Prime Minister, have not had the desired results.

An American Unitarian Church Committee recently published its report on „Transylvania under Roumanian Rule“ which is but a detailed indictment based on a three months thorough study of the circumstances. A delegation of the American Union of the Churches

of Christ, has also visited the Country and published its report. We are now in a position of completing the evidence supplied by these, from the point of view of the Reformed Church. We have, it is true, in one or two cases been able to alleviate the position of the maltreated people or to obtain their release, but the Government must punish the persons whose guilt comes to light through our assistance. It is however not our business to give assistance in this direction.

We have investigated into a number of cases of maltreatment in a general way, but only a fraction of these has really come to our knowledge. What we want is strictness on the part of the Roumanian Government in the investigation into real grievances and acts of injustice and in the treatment of those guilty. We should like to convince them once more, them and the Powers, of the absolute necessity of foreign intervention. If this does not come from Bucarest, it will have to come from Geneva, although our sympathy for Roumania would make us regret the latter alternative."

2. Statement of Sir W. Dickinson

In the summer of Sir W. Dickinson, Vice President of the Union of the League of Nations, visited Roumania and made the following statement in Bucarest:

"The Peoples have sovereign rights, but this sovereignty is limited by the obligations they have to undergo. From the moment it was said that the Governments in question guarantee the rights to the Minorities to be equal to those of the Majority, they cannot in the name of their sovereignty, withdraw from the control of the fulfilment of the obligations incurred. They must, with full bona fides submit to such control. In the case of Treaties of Peace dealing with such a wide circle of affairs, the obligations undergone, which form the minimum of the Treaty, must not be disregarded. The States of Succession must not forget, that their present frontiers are only granted to them and that some of them have only come into existence, because, they agreed to conform to the provisions of the Treaty of Peace dealing with the Protections of Minorities. Had the Countries in question refused to accept these terms, or had they not come into existence, their frontiers would be quite different at present. („Szabadság", 31-st of July 1921.)

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